

# THE IMPERIAL IMAGE



PAINTINGS FOR THE MUGHAL COURT

FREER GALLERY OF ART



Freer Gallery of Art  
Smithsonian Institution







**THE IMPERIAL IMAGE: PAINTINGS FOR THE MUGHAL COURT**





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THE MUGHAL COURT

*Milo Cleveland Beach*

FREER GALLERY OF ART  
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
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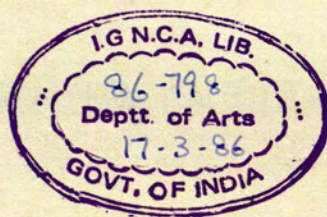
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*Cover.* Detail of cat. no. 17b. *Jahangir Embracing Shah  
Abbas.* From the *Leningrad Album.* By Abu'l Hasan, circa  
1618.

*Endpapers:* Map of India designed by William Baffin, en-  
graved by Renold Elstrack. From *Purchas His Pilgrimes*  
(London, 1625). Photograph courtesy Chapin Library,  
Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts.





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## FOREWORD

In 1907 Charles Lang Freer purchased his first examples of Indian Mughal paintings and manuscripts from Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna, an English military officer who had assembled the collection in India during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Colonel Hanna began to collect during the troubled period of the Indian Mutiny, and eventually, his holdings included some 130 pieces. In his catalogue, published in 1890, Colonel Hanna gave pride of place to the *Ramayana* manuscript, a work that remains one of the best-known examples of Mughal painting in the Freer Gallery.

Prompted by his success in acquiring the Hanna collection, Freer made several additional purchases in 1907. His attention then turned again to the Far East, and he made no further purchases of Mughal paintings or manuscripts before his death in 1919. It remained for John Ellerton Lodge, the first director of the Gallery, to add to that portion of the collection. With the exquisite taste and discerning judgment that characterize all acquisitions made during the twenty-two years he served as director, Lodge assembled an important number of Mughal paintings and manuscripts. Some of the finest of those were acquired from Hagop Kevorkian, himself a distinguished connoisseur and art patron.

Richard Ettinghausen guided the development of the Indian painting collection during the period from 1944 to 1967, when he was a member of the curatorial staff at the Gallery. His unswerving insistence upon quality and high regard for scholarship were largely responsible for establishing the international reputation of the Freer's Near Eastern collections.

Although many scholars have studied the Gallery's Mughal paintings and manuscripts during the past half-century and specific examples have been discussed and illustrated in books and periodicals, a catalogue of that portion of the collection has never been compiled. The original impetus for this catalogue came in 1978 with the publication of Milo Cleveland Beach's magisterial *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India: 1600–1660*. The eloquence of his text, as well as the measured insights of his attributions, indicated that Dr. Beach would be the ideal scholar to undertake the task of preparing a catalogue of the Freer's holdings. Preliminary discussions with Dr. Beach confirmed my first reactions, and with generous support from the Smithsonian Institution's Regents Fund, he has completed a manuscript that has more than fulfilled my expectations. I feel confident that students and scholars will share my admiration for Dr. Beach's scholarship in reassessing this important aspect of Indian art.

Thomas Lawton  
Director, Freer Gallery of Art



## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As the title indicates, this exhibition of works from the Freer Gallery of Art centers on paintings made under the patronage of the Mughal emperors of India and concentrates on the years 1560–1640. A small number of related Iranian or pre-Mughal Indian works, as well as illustrations from the Deccan—a Muslim area south of the Mughal territories—are included to establish a broader context.

The collection of Mughal painting at the Freer Gallery is superb, providing a representative and thorough documentation of the period, and the catalogue is an attempt to coordinate basic information about the major illustrations and painters of the Mughal tradition together with an annotated commentary.

I am particularly grateful to Thomas Lawton, director of the Freer Gallery, for suggesting this exhibition and catalogue and for providing every facility for a thorough study of the collections. Richard Louie, assistant director, has given meticulous attention to the catalogue and all phases of the exhibition. The Smithsonian Institution, with great kindness, granted me a Regents Fellowship, under which most of the research was accomplished, and I wish to express appreciation to Gretchen Gayle Ellsworth, director of the Office of Fellowships and Grants, and to Charles Blitzler, assistant secretary for history and art. Some additional research was carried out in India, during a Senior Fellowship generously granted for a related project by the American Institute of Indian Studies, and in Europe, partially by funds from Williams College. We are also indebted to The Hagop Kevorkian Fund, which substantially aided the publication of the catalogue.

Unless otherwise acknowledged, the textual translations published here are the work of G. T. Whitney. For additional or new translations I wish to thank B. N. Goswamy, Kamran Lashkari, and M. Shreve Simpson.

Information and opinions have always been generously supplied by Stuart Cary Welch, Robert Skelton, Ellen Smart, and Glenn D. Lowry, and the following have also been especially helpful: Esin Atil, Freer Gallery of Art; Norah Titley, The British Library; Michael Rogers, The British Museum; David James, The Chester Beatty Library; Mildred Archer, The India Office Library; Michael Goe-dhuis, P. & D. Colnaghi and Co., Ltd.; Volkmar Enderlein and Regina Hickman, Staatliche Museen, East Berlin; and O. P. Sharma, National Museum of India, New Delhi. None of these people, however, bears any responsibility whatever for the sometimes unorthodox opinions expressed here.

The entire staff of the Freer Gallery of Art has been at all times helpful and enormously efficient, but special mention must be made of Stanley A. Turek and James T. Hayden, whose superb photographs are essential to the catalogue; and Martin P. Amt and Craig S. Korr.

The excellence of the exhibition installation is due to Robert W. Evans, building manager, Cornell F. Evans, cabinet shop leader, and John A. Marshall.

For the careful presentation of a complicated text, I am also indebted to Stephen Kraft, chief designer, and Kathleen Preciado, editor, of the Smithsonian Institution Press. Their tasks were not easy. Edith Howard typed the manuscript with her usual care, patience, and good humor.

Finally, I wish to thank the Ophicleide Corporation and my family and to dedicate the work to Olga, Toby, and Sophie Beach, in appreciation of their continual enthusiasm and understanding.

Milo Cleveland Beach  
*Williams College*  
*Williamstown, Massachusetts*





Detail of cat. no. 17d. *Jahangir Giving Books to Shaikhs*. From the *Jahangir-nama* and *Leningrad Album*, circa 1620.





# Introduction

## THE ART OF THE BOOK

In Muslim India, as in the Islamic world generally, books were regarded as precious objects. Physically valuable because of the materials and time that went into their preparation, they were tangible evidence of wealth, intelligence, and power. They were also among the most coveted spoils of war. The Emperor Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur recorded in his memoirs (the *Babur-nama*) an incident in his battle with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi, whose defeat in 1526 established the Mughal dynasty in India:

After spending two nights on the rise, I inspected the fort. I went into Ghazi Khan's book-room; some of the precious things found there I gave to Humayun, some sent to Kamran [his sons]. . . . There were many books of learned contents.<sup>1</sup>

Of Humayun, who was Babur's successor and the father of Akbar the Great, it in turn was written (in reference to books being plundered from his camp during a less successful battle):

Near dawn, five or six thousand bhils and gawars fell upon the royal enclosure, His Majesty . . . and the troops having retired to a rising ground. The gawars came and proceeded to plunder, and many rare books, which were real companions and were always kept in His Majesty's personal possession, were lost.<sup>2</sup>

The acquisition of books was not always so violent, of course, for they were also prime ceremonial presentation objects. The detail of catalogue number 17d shows the Emperor Jahangir presenting books to Muslim holy men. In addition, when a noble died, everything in his possession went to the emperor, who would return to the family or retain exactly what he chose. Again, we have a contemporary source for such information in the *Akbar-nama*, Akbar's official biography:

Shaikh Faizi left a library of 4600 volumes, some of them exquisitely copied with what may be said to be even unnecessary care and expense. Most of them were autographs of their respective authors or at least copied by their contemporaries. They were all transferred to the king's library, after being catalogued and numbered.<sup>3</sup>

This passage is useful for giving us some idea of the size of a major noble's library (compared to that of Akbar, who reportedly left 24,000 books at his death in 1605). The three quotes together also reveal that the movement of books—whether through presentation or plunder—allowed to the upper classes a wide familiarity with a broad range of literary and artistic taste.

The *A'in-i-Akbari* of Abu'l Fazl describes the arrangement and activity of Akbar's library:

His Majesty's library is divided into several parts; some of the books are kept within, and some without, the Harem. Each part of the library is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, Arabic, are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from beginning to end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign, according to the number of the pages; and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or



Detail of cat. no. 16b recto.  
*Marginal Figures* (The Artisans  
of a Library). From an album  
of Jahangir, circa 1600.



silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy, with which His Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted.<sup>4</sup>

The basis of such a library was the group of artists and artisans who copied, bound, and embellished the texts. Each patron had his own workshop of men dependent for their livelihood on responsiveness to his demands and taste; and, as we might expect, rivalries developed. Conscious of their own mobility, artists found talent rewarded with increasingly prestigious positions, perhaps eventually even in the imperial studios. A contemporary history, the *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, tells us that 100 men worked for Akbar on the great *Hamza-nama* manuscript (cat. no. 5a-c)<sup>5</sup>—admittedly the largest project known—and this number would probably have included papermakers, leatherworkers (for covers), gilders, illuminators, scribes, and painters, as well as apprentices to prepare pigments and brushes and to burnish the paper. A series of superb and informative studies of such men at work is the subject of the marginal decorations of a page from one of Jahangir's extraordinary albums (see detail of cat. no. 16b). Each project was directed by a master artist or administrator, who selected which episodes of the texts would be illustrated and to which painter each would be assigned. In some cases this decision would have been determined in consultation with the patron. We know that Akbar, for example, was personally involved in the trial-and-error process of creation:

The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the Daroghas and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries.<sup>6</sup>

For some illustrations, work was shared. A master artist made the design, a lesser or younger painter executed the actual painting, and either the designer or a third major artist drew important portraits; catalogue number 11 is such an example: the design and portraits are by Kesu, the execution is by Kamali. All of this information is usually noted in the bottom margin of the work by a court librarian, and if it is not there or if the borders have been trimmed (as on cat. no. 12a, among others), then the game of speculative attribution is played. The Emperor Jahangir was the first to proclaim an ability to recognize individual artists' styles:

As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows.<sup>7</sup>



One wonders, however, whether anyone would have corrected the emperor had his judgments been wrong.

While this system of shared work was in force especially for several of the major historical manuscripts of the 1580s and 1590s (such as the circa 1589 *Babur-nama* [cat. no. 7], the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* [cat. no. 10a–d], the first *Akbar-nama* [cat. no. 9], or the *Jami al-Tawarikh* of 1596 [cat. no. 11]), it clearly resulted in paintings that almost inevitably suffered from the combination of different sensibilities and—more importantly—levels of talent. For example, the later (or circa 1604) *Akbar-nama* illustrations (cat. no. 12a–g) are predominantly by individual artists working unassisted, and the overall quality of work is much higher than in the earlier copy of that text. After the 1590s, such a systematic division of labor was rare.

Certain artists had specialties (such as battle or court scenes, portraits, or animal studies), and while the names of many artists are known, it is a small group that is responsible for the majority of designs or illustrations in any one work (e.g., Basawan, Daswanth, Lal, Miskin). Painters worked, of course, on specific projects for specific patrons. It is very unusual to find reference to an independent artist, at least within the bounds of Mughal patronage. We do find many references to painters who, for a variety of reasons, might leave one man's employ for that of another; this they were usually free to do. Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd as-Samad, successive directors of the *Hamza-nama* project, for example, both left Iran when the Safavid Shah Tahmasp turned orthodox and dismissed painters from his employ. Farrukh Beg came to India from Kabul in 1585, when Akbar's half-brother Muhammad Hakim died. When a painter of talent was unable to find a patron, it was a cause of note—and usually the end of his career. One of the Khan Khanan's artists, Ibrahim (who was in addition a calligrapher, gilder, bookbinder, engraver of precious stones, and considered a man of great talent), entered his employ in the early 1590s but soon left because of an act only vaguely alluded to in contemporary chronicles. It was noted that he

travelled, during the remainder of his life, throughout India, in search of a master and patron like the Khan Khanan, but he did not get any. He was always sorry, and regretted his mistake. At last, the messenger of death rolled the carpet of his non-existence.<sup>8</sup>

By the late 1590s, when Mughal control was secure, the emperors no longer needed to develop a library as a symbol of political and dynastic power. They could now concentrate on the refinement of a firmly established institution. Imperial taste had as well become more epicurean. Manuscript output was smaller, therefore, and illustrations fewer and finer. The amount of time spent by painters on individual works may well have increased, if the fragments of information we have are any indication. A painting by Abd as-Samad, dated 1551, has an inscription that states that it was painted in half a day, while a *Babur-nama* page of circa 1589 evidently took fifty days, and a more elaborate *Padshah-nama* illustration, dated 1639, took two years (although it was certainly not the only page upon which the painter would have worked during that time).<sup>9</sup> Wealth and stability also opened up more elaborate sources of supply; the finest materials (such as papers, pigments, or brushes) could be imported from wherever they were available, as Abu'l Fazl noted:

Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish.<sup>10</sup>

This gave the potential for greater control and more subtle effects by the painters. The refinements of the 1604 *Akbar-nama*, for example, would simply not have been possible at the time of the *Hamza-nama* (circa 1562–77), considering the materials then available. The stylistic developments of the Mughal tradition, therefore, are the product of many factors, not the least interesting of which are the personalities and tastes of the imperial patrons.







Detail of cat. no. 9. *Babur at the Capture of Kabul*. From the *Akbar-nama*. Painted by Mahesh, with portraits by Basawan, circa 1590 or earlier.

## THE EMPERORS BABUR (r.1526–30) AND HUMAYUN (r. 1530–40;1555–56)

Babur founded the dynasty in India when he arrived from Kabul (in present-day Afghanistan) and defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He is shown enthroned at Kabul in an *Akbar-nama* page (see detail of cat. no. 9). Most famous for his love and creation of extraordinary gardens, he must have patronized painters as well, although no works are known datable to his reign in Kabul, where he established a lively court, or in India. We do have a superb volume of memoirs, the *Babur-nama* (Story of Babur), an entertaining and sympathetic narrative of events and description of the myriad details of the world of nature that Babur found intriguing. Several copies of this work (cat. nos. 7–8) were written out and illustrated during the rule of his grandson Akbar. In addition to the usual battle and court scenes, painters illustrated his careful verbal descriptions of interesting and novel plants and animals. Catalogue number 7, for example, shows wild buffalo, blue bulls; and hog deer.

At the time of Babur's arrival, northern India was divided into a number of small kingdoms, Hindu and Muslim. His defeat of the Lodi sultan gave him control over the largest and most politically potent of these, but the Rajput Hindu kingdoms to the west and the Muslim sultanates in the south and east remained dangerous rivals. These territories had patronized painting before the Mughal advent, but the works were very different from the Iranian styles that were part of Babur's cultural heritage.

Painting under Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) of Iran, Babur's contemporary and distant relation, was the result of a long tradition of technical and aesthetic refinement and connoisseurship. The greatest manuscript of the mid-sixteenth century, and therefore most comparable in date to the beginnings of Mughal painting, is the *Haft Aurang* (Seven Thrones) of the poet Jami (cat. no. 4). In this manuscript we are immediately conscious of the fineness and richness of the pigments and their careful placement as well as rhythm of line, superb surface pattern, minute details, and overall technical control. This is the quintessence of a courtly style, and the painting is superb. But it is also of so elitist a sensibility that it borders on the effete.



There is nothing effete about the pre-Mughal styles that the Mughals encountered in India and which in turn influenced their taste. Painting had had a long prior history in the subcontinent, especially in the form of wall paintings in Buddhist and Hindu places of worship. Following the arrival of Islam in the ninth century, however, the production of manuscripts increased. Unlike wall painting and architectural decoration, manuscripts could be hidden during the periodic threats of Muslim iconoclasm. The decline of Buddhism coincided with the rise of Islam, but the Jain and Hindu religious communities remained strong, and each patronized artists to illustrate holy books. Unlike the elitist and noble Mughal patrons, Jains and Hindus were closely tied to local folk sensibilities, and the styles of their works were deeply rooted in pan-Indian indigenous traditions. Patronage, too, was different. In Jain communities, painters often remained independent of fixed patronage, accepting commissions from anyone with funds. Wishing to make auspicious gifts to temples and bhandars, patrons tended to be rich businessmen—as were the Hindu patrons of the style of the *Bhagavata Purana* set included here (cat. no. 3a-b). Artistic individuality and the painter's responsiveness to an individual patron's demands—so important for understanding the Mughal tradition—seem relatively uninfluential here.

A scroll painting dated 1451 (cat. no. 1) is in a western Indian or Jain style, but it illustrates a Hindu text, the *Vasanta Vilasa* (Beauty of Spring), an ecstatic outpouring of devotion to Krishna. It shares with another Krishna text (cat. no. 3a-b), datable to the early sixteenth century, the use of flat areas of strong color, powerful and angular forms, and compartmentalized compositions. These works are vibrantly alive and immediate in impact, quite different from the subtlety and intricacy of contemporary Iranian works to whose style Babur would have doubtless wanted his painters to aspire



Detail of cat. no. 1. *Vasanta Vilasa*, 1451.





Detail of cat. no. 1. *Vasanta Vilasa*, 1451.



Detail of cat. no. 3b. *The Sleeping Shatrjit Murdered by Satadbanva*. From the *Bhagavata Purana*, early 16th century.



Fig. 1. Detail of *Qay's First Glimpse of the Fair Layla*. From the *Haft Aurang* of Jami. Attributed to Muzaffar Ali. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 231r).

(compare details of cat. nos. 1 and 3b and fig. 1). Later in the century, Akbar would be (however briefly) enthusiastic about non-Moslem Indian painting, but Babur might well have been unsympathetic to its relative crudeness, if, in fact, he had any acquaintance with it at all. In his memoirs, he states that India "is a country of few charms" and bemoans that "in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality."<sup>11</sup>

Humayun (portrayed in the detail of cat. no. 12a) succeeded his father in 1530 and ruled until 1540, when he was ousted and exiled by Sher Shah Sur, an Afghan chieftain. He went to Iran, was entertained and given troops by Shah Tahmasp to retake Delhi, and returned to Kabul, which he seized from his brother Mirza Kamran in an involved series of battles. He spent several years in Kabul but eventually returned to India in 1555 and regained his former territories, dying there the next year in a fall down a library staircase. His son, Akbar, born in the deserts of Sind while his father was in flight, succeeded him at the age of thirteen. He inherited the energies of Babur rather than the lassitude of Humayun; and the parallel can continue, for Babur had gained his short-lived throne in Ferghana (now part of Russian Turkestan) at the age of ten, when his father fell from a pigeon tower.

Humayun definitely established a workshop of painters even before his celebrated visit to the Safavid court. The memoirs of one of his attendants relates:

the King undressed, and ordered his clothes to be washed, and in the meanwhile he wore his dressing gown; while thus sitting, a beautiful bird flew into the tent, the doors of which were immediately closed, and the bird caught; his Majesty then took a pair of scissors and cut some of the feathers off the animal; he then sent for a painter, and had a picture taken of the bird, and afterwards ordered it to be released.<sup>12</sup>

This occurred in 1542 during the emperor's slow exit from India and certainly indicates how important painters must have been to him, for his entourage was otherwise minimal. Humayun's interest in natural history parallels Babur's, although we do not know in what style these works were painted, for no such early examples remain. Several illustrations in a transplanted Safavid style are known, however, datable after about 1550,<sup>13</sup> when Humayun's interest in painting as a symbol of power may





Detail of cat. no. 12a. *The Young Akbar Recognizes His Mother*. From the *Akbar-nama*, circa 1604.

well have been newly charged after his visit to Tahmasp. The *Akbar-nama* records that a meeting with the shah took place in a recently decorated palace:

In a noble palace, on the gilding of which skillful artists had long been engaged and in which they had displayed miracles of craftsmanship, an enchanting picture gallery received its inauguration by the interview with His Majesty.<sup>14</sup>

Yet despite such projects, Tahmasp was becoming increasingly orthodox and—picturemaking being banned in strictly observed Islam—released painters from his employ. Humayun was successful in hiring two major masters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd as-Samad (cat. no. 16d), and they joined him in Kabul and descended into India to become directors of the imperial studio and the most prestigious painters in Akbar's employ. They were the first of a series of Iranian exiles to seek employment at the increasingly wealthy and artistically active Mughal court, and it was under Humayun's patronage, after his return from exile in 1555, that the imperial Safavid style became firmly established as the basic element of Mughal painting. We can presently best judge Mughal developments by their departure from, and relation to, that style.

## THE EMPEROR AKBAR (r. 1556–1605)

The personal dynamism of Akbar (see detail of cat. no. 12g) is well presented in the pages of the *Akbar-nama*, the official biography he commissioned from Abu'l Fazl. We read of him hunting tiger, riding rutting elephants, conquering Rajput fortresses, discussing religious doctrine with Jesuit priests, building a new capital city at Fatehpur Sikri, or punishing a rebellious noble by dunking him in a river (cat. no. 12c). It is important to establish a chronology of major events, for they affected the evolution of his interests as a patron of the arts.



He was born in 1542 during Humayun's journey to Iran, and as the trip was difficult, the child was left behind with attendants, rejoining his father in 1545 at Kabul. These were hardly secure years. Akbar was seized by his uncle Kamran, for example, and during one of the several battles that the brothers fought over possession of Kabul, Kamran exposed Akbar—on the ramparts of the fort at Kabul—to Humayun's attacking guns. When Akbar came to India in 1555, therefore, the country was new to him, as was his father's role as emperor. During the first years of his reign following Humayun's death in 1556, much of the administration of the country was in the hands of Bairam Khan, who eventually rebelled against Akbar's increasing self-reliance (cat. no. 12b). It is probably a mistake to think of Akbar as being completely ruled by Bairam Khan, however, for in the culture of which he was a part, thirteen was a quite capable age for the making of serious and creative decisions. Our knowledge of these years, however, is meager.

In 1561 Bairam Khan was killed by imperial forces, and the following year Akbar married the daughter of the Hindu raja of Amber (Jaipur), establishing a policy of marriage alliances as one tactic to bring the independent Hindu rulers under Mughal control. Akbar was not interested in forcing Islam upon the country. He established a policy of tribute payments and military service but generally allowed the Hindu chiefs to rule their patrimonial lands and continue their own religious beliefs. It was probably in 1562 also that the great *Hamza-nama* project was begun—a mammoth undertaking to copy out and illustrate (with 1,400 paintings) one of Akbar's favorite adventure stories (cat. no. 5a–c). A contemporary account tells us that more than thirty painters were among the men who worked on the book, and many of these were recruited from local artistic workshops in India, bringing to the Mughal court traditions and attitudes that then became part of the evolving Mughal court style.<sup>15</sup> In these early years, Akbar was interested in and supportive of such variety, for Indian forms, colors, and techniques were different and exciting and new to him. This desire to confront traditional Islamic attitudes (whether artistic, religious, or political) with new and challenging concepts is basic to understanding Akbar's early years and the development of the Mughal style in both painting and architecture. The new city at Fatehpur Sikri, for example, built between 1569 and 1585, is an almost exact architectural equivalent for the *Hamza-nama* manuscript.

In 1568 Akbar conquered the Rajput fortress at Chitor, the capital of the rebellious rulers of Mewar (Hindu nobles who refused to ally themselves in any way with the Mughal empire), and the following year the fortress at nearby Ranthambhor also capitulated. Prince Salim (the future Emperor Jahangir) was born in 1569, followed the next year by Sultan Murad (see cat. no. 22), and in 1572 by Sultan Daniyal. At this point, Akbar's political power was unrivaled and his dynastic succession guaranteed. It was a time of relative security, consolidation rather than expansion, and intellectual experimentation.

Akbar evidently first met Europeans in 1572 during the campaign in Gujarat, and this considerably expanded his already keen interest in different religious systems.

One of the occurrences . . . was that a large number of Christians came from the port of Goa and its neighbourhood to the foot of the sublime throne and were rewarded with the bliss of an interview. . . . They produced many of the rareties of their country, and the appreciative Khedive received each one of them with special favour and made inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe. It seems as if he did this from a desire of knowledge, for his sacred heart is a depot of spiritual and physical sciences. But his boding soul wished that these inquiries might be the means of civilising this savage race.<sup>16</sup>

This and subsequent encounters were important for the arts, for Akbar saw and was intrigued by European prints and paintings, which his artists studied and copied.

Islam had never been wholly accepted by Akbar, and in 1575 he established at Fatehpur Sikri the Ibadat Khana (House of Worship), where men of different religious persuasions could meet, present their own beliefs, and debate.

At this time, when the capital was illuminated by his glorious advent, H.M. ordered that a house of worship should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom. . . . A general proclamation was issued that, on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who searched after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common public who sought for an awaken-





Detail of cat. no. 12g. *Akbar Hears a Petition*.  
From the *Akbar-nama*. Attributed here to Ma-  
nohar, circa 1604.



ing, and the inquirers of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation.<sup>17</sup>

The troublesome province of Bengal was finally conquered in 1576, further and finally solidifying Akbar's rule and ushering in years of intense personal turmoil. In 1579 Akbar issued the Decree of Infallibility, giving to himself extraordinary powers in the interpretation of Islamic doctrine, and formally invited the Jesuits at Goa to send a mission to the Mughal court.

Order of Jalal-ud-din the Great, King by God appointed. Fathers of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send Abdulla, my ambassador, and Dominic Pires to ask you in my name to send me two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to come with them and let them bring the books of the Law. Know also that so far as I can I shall receive most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and when I shall know about the Law and its perfection what I wish to know, they will be at liberty to return as soon as they like, and I shall not let them go without loading them with honours and gifts. Therefore let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.<sup>18</sup>

The most important event and culmination of this period of experimentation and questioning occurred, however, during a *qamarga* (hunt). Both Abu'l Fazl and his contemporary Abdu'l Qadir ibn-i-Muluk Shah, al-Badaoni (who is quoted here), refer to it rather obliquely.

At Patan the Emperor . . . went for a *Qamurghah* hunt in the neighbourhood of Nandanah, and in the course of four days numberless game was enclosed. And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the *Qamurghah* were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for.<sup>19</sup>

Abu'l Fazl states that "a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (*jazaba*) of cognition of God cast its ray."<sup>20</sup> This direct mystical experience gave to Akbar a sense (in Abu'l Fazl's words) of the "glory of unity," an intuitive synthesis of all the various ideas and religious attitudes that he had been exploring, and it increased his distrust of sectarian differences. The result of this experience was the establishment in 1582 of the Din-i-Ilahi (Divine Faith), a synthetic religious system that was violently attacked by orthodox Muslims.

It is no surprise, therefore, that a painter named Daswanth was particularly important to Akbar at this time, although he is a difficult artist for us to understand.<sup>21</sup> Very few works are known that can be attributed solely to his authorship, and these are early and immature. His greatest contribution was the series of immensely powerful designs he made for the imperial *Razm-nama* manuscript begun in 1582. There his sense of the irrational and visionary must have perfectly complemented Akbar's similar sensibilities—as shown by the mystical *jazaba*—during the late 1570s and early 1580s. He certainly also was a dominating influence in the *Hamza-nama*. In 1584, however, he committed suicide.

One of the occurrences was the death of the painter Daswanth. He was the son of a Kahar (palki-bearer caste). The acuteness and appreciativeness of the world's lord brought his great artistic talents to notice. His paintings were not behind those of Bihzad [the most famous of Iranian artists] and the painters of China. All at once melancholy took possession of him, and he wounded himself with a dagger. After two days he paid back the loan of life, and grief came to the hearts of connoisseurs.<sup>22</sup>

With his death and the establishment of the Din-i-Ilahi, Akbar's own attitude changes for the quieter, the more rational.<sup>23</sup>

The year 1580 initiated a decade of intense activity. In 1582 Akbar commissioned a new history of the Muslim world during its first millennium, which would end in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591–92). This was the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (History of a Thousand) (cat. no. 10a–d), and orthodox Muslims were outspoken in their distrust of Akbar's intentions.

And since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact, that the 1000 years since the time of the





mission of the Prophet (peace be upon Him!), which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islam, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of those secret designs, which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulama (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islam, and of establishing his own cherished belief (in their stead).<sup>24</sup>

In the same year, Akbar ordered a translation into Persian of the Sanskrit (Hindu) epic *Mahabharata* (Great India), which became known as *Razm-nama* (Book of Wars) and which was immediately followed by a translation of the *Ramayana* (for related manuscripts see cat. nos. 6 and 15). Badaoni, who worked on the preparation of both texts, was continually horrified by Akbar's sympathies and by such liberal and non-Muslim attitudes as the prohibition on the eating of beef. He wrote:

The origin of the embargo was this, that from his tender years onwards the Emperor had been much in the company with rascally Hindus, and thence a reverence for the cow (which in their opinion is the cause of the stability of the world) became firmly fixed in his mind.<sup>25</sup>

Badaoni more usefully mentions the establishment of the Translation Bureau at Fatehpur Sikri.<sup>26</sup> Learned Hindus were brought there to recite and explain texts, which were then transcribed into Persian, and books brought to the Ibadat Khana for discussion were prepared for the emperor's understanding.

The Record Office, established in 1574, was equally important. Records were extraordinarily thorough, and every event in the emperor's life was noted by one of fourteen clerks.

Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; what His Majesty eats and drinks; when he sleeps and when he rises; the etiquette in the state hall; the time His Majesty spends in the Harem; when he goes to the general and private assemblies; the nature of hunting-parties; the slaying of animals; when he marches and when he halts; the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; vows made to him; what alms he bestows.<sup>27</sup>

Both the emperor and Abu'l Fazl also encouraged the writing of memoirs and on one occasion supplied a scribe to take dictation from the superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen, who was paralyzed and unable to write himself.<sup>28</sup> These texts were kept in the Record Office, as were important chronicles, including the *Babur-nama*, *Qanun-i-Humayuni* of Khwandamir, *Tazkiratu'l Waqi'at* of Jauhar. The sources available to historians then were extensive, and in 1590 Akbar commissioned Abu'l Fazl to use these materials to write an official chronicle of his life, the *Akbar-nama*.

These later manuscript projects slowly develop a quite different character from those of the early years of Akbar's rule, where, in the *Tuti-nama*, *Hamza-nama*, or *Darab-nama*, for example, the emperor is clearly interested in the legendary and fantastic. This new attitude is perfectly expressed in the introduction to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, in which Asaf Khan Ja'far Beg wrote that the emperor

accordingly ordered, that the rational contents of different religions and faiths, should be translated in the language of each, and that the rose garden of the traditional aspects of each religion should, as far as possible, be cleared of the thorns of bigotry. . . . Accordingly, the late Hakim Ahmad was ordered to compile an authentic history based on reliable sources. He was ordered to begin it from the death of the Prophet Muhammad, to verify all the traditions relating to all parts of the world, and bring down the account to the present time. In obedience to the royal mandate, he wrote within three years a detailed history.<sup>29</sup>

This new interest in the rational and historically verifiable can be partly attributable to Akbar's greater maturity in the 1580s; but, as well, the *jazaba* and the establishment of the Din-i-Ilahi relieved and formally channeled much of the turmoil of Akbar's youth and, therefore, freed him for new and different concerns.

Paralleling the interest in historical events was a new preoccupation with historical personalities and thus the development of portraiture. Abu'l Fazl informs us that:

His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them.<sup>30</sup>



Akbar was particularly radical in this approach to portraiture, for earlier Hindu and Islamic "portraits," when they exist, are generalized and metaphorical references, whereas Akbar wished his artists to capture the specific appearance and personality of the subjects. In this he went completely against traditional Islamic attitudes, which held that:

the painting of a picture of any living thing is strictly forbidden and is one of the greatest sins . . . it is forbidden under every circumstance, because it implies a likeness to the creative activity of God.<sup>31</sup>

Akbar, however, thought otherwise, and Abu'l Fazl related:

One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked: "There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."<sup>32</sup>

The Mughal library and workshops were active, productive, and inventive during these years, for many of the texts had never before been illustrated, and Akbar's stylistic demands were untraditional. Abu'l Fazl, again, noted:

The number of masterpieces of painting increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The *Story of Hamzah* was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiznama [cat. no. 11], the Zafarnama, this book [cat. nos. 9 and 12], the Razmnama, the Ramayan, the Nal Daman, the Kalilah Damnah, the Ayar Danish, etc., were all illustrated.<sup>33</sup>

That there were "a very large number of paintings" seems a justifiable claim. Of those major manuscripts that are known and can be dated to the 1580s, for example, the *Razm-nama* had 176 illustrations,<sup>34</sup> the *Ramayana* more than 170, the *Timur-nama* 128, the *Darab-nama* 157, the first *Babur-nama* 183, and the first *Akbar-nama* and the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* each probably about 300. Expectedly, not all works, even among imperial commissions, were of uniformly high quality, nor were the styles of individual painters always significant; artistic experimentation and stylistic development were moving too rapidly. The overall sense, however, is of enormous energy and creativity, for artists had not yet evolved the techniques and formulas that became basic during and after the 1590s and from which painters then made only minor and subtle personal variations.

The earliest great Akbari manuscript is the *Hamza-nama* (cat. no. 5a-c), which was worked on over a fifteen-year period, probably between 1562 and 1577. The text is a lively adventure story, based loosely and in part on the life of an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad and his attempts to convert the world to Islam. Its kidnappings, seductions, murders, chases, magical journeys, dragons, and giants were immensely appealing to the young Akbar, for in the *Maathir-ul-Umara* we read that he

was very fond of the story of Amir Hamza which contained 360 tales. So much so that he in the female apartments used to recite them like a storyteller.<sup>35</sup>

The manuscript is on cloth, a practice that finds precedent in such Indian works as the Jain *Vasanta Vilasa* scroll (cat. no. 1); village paintings; and Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain temple hangings. By Mughal standards the size of the *Hamza-nama* folios is enormous (about 68 by 52 cm.) and immediately affects the visual impact of the illustrations as do the large forms, strong colors, and bold rhythms. Unlike the exactly contemporary Iranian *Haft Aurang* manuscript (cat. no. 4), for example, there is no sense here of the subtle and precious, although the love of pattern and ornament is found in both manuscripts (a comparison is provided by fig. 2 and cat. no. 5b). In the Iranian work, gestures are quiet and emotionalism restrained, a reflection of highly developed court decorum and control, whereas in the pages of the *Hamza-nama* the figures move and gesticulate wildly. Here, too, the facial expressions are strong and the forms modeled to give them substance. The Iranian painter, we sense, is more interested in fine detail, graceful poses, and the extraordinary undulating surface rhythms of the lines of the drapery. Grace is not a quality associated with the *Hamza-nama* figures.





Fig. 2. *Qay's First Glimpse of the Fair Layla*. From the *Haft Aurang* of Jami. Attributed to Muzaffar Ali. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 231r).

Cat. no. 5b. *Aemr, Disguised as the Surgeon Mizzmuhil, Arrives before the Fort at Antalya*. From the *Hamza-nama*. Attributed here to Mahesh, circa 1562–77.

Cat. no. 6. *Krishna and the Golden City of Dwarka*. From the *Harivamsa*. Probably designed by Kesu Kalan and painted by Miskin, circa 1585.

If the *Haft Aurang* illustrations are subtle and demand a leisurely investigation to achieve their full effect, the *Hamza-nama* is strongest at first impact, and in this way—as well as in the overall strength of form and gesture—it is closer in style to the Hindu *Bhagavata Purana* illustrations (cat. no. 3a–b). Also, as in Indian traditions, the *Hamza-nama* makes the narrative the dominant element of the painting. We know that almost all the painters who were recruited to work on the manuscript were Indian, and many were certainly mature, developed artists before they joined Akbar's lucrative and prestigious employ; thus, they brought to the evolving Mughal style attitudes and traditions quite different from the Iranian training of the project directors, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd as-Samad. In the *Hamza-nama*, Mughal painting shows itself not as a provincial or transplanted version of Iranian painting—as it might easily have been—but as a new and vital tradition.

The broad stylistic development of Akbari works can easily be charted. The superb illustration *Krishna and the Golden City of Dwarka* (cat. no. 6) comes from a *Harivamsa* manuscript, a life of the Hindu god Vishnu painted about 1585. It shows the development of a freer, deeper space than found in any related pre-Mughal works. The architecture, for example, is arranged in such a way that we see it as relatively three-dimensional, rather than a flat surface design, and single forms such as the cowherders or the trees are more skillfully modeled to give a sense of physical mass within this space. The figures and architecture in the background also diminish in size according to the distance, and this trait specifically as well as the modeling can be derived from an awareness of European techniques. Imported objects from Europe had long circulated in the Mughal empire, for an early Humayun-period text describes the hanging of European textiles at the court.<sup>36</sup> While Akbar was formally given an illustrated Bible by Jesuit missionaries who came to Agra in 1580, there is evidence that such works had been known much earlier;<sup>37</sup> and his interest is shown by a Jesuit account of an imperial visit to their chapel in 1582:

Eight days later, he again came to the oratory, accompanied this time by his three sons, and some of the chief nobles of the court. . . . He showed great reverence for the pictures of our Savior and the blessed Virgin, and even for those of other saints; and he ordered his painter to make copies of those which the Fathers had placed in their chapel.<sup>38</sup>



Such a later Mughal manuscript as the *Harivamsa* shows the growing concern for naturalism and a more precisely visual observation—traits that made European works of such novelty and interest—and this awareness becomes the most distinctive contribution of Mughal painting to the arts of either Islam or India. It also, however, reveals a developing taste for technical control, brilliance of surface (especially in the *Harivamsa* in the gold patterning of the buildings), and miniaturism, which reasserts the Iranian roots of Mughal painting and taste. Abu'l Fazl seems to have recognized this dual ideal of the Mughal aesthetic when he wrote in the late 1590s:

Most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces worthy of a Bihzad may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life.<sup>39</sup>

We see this direction carried further in the second *Akbar-nama* (of circa 1604; cat. no. 12a–g). A comparison of details from *Hamza-nama* and *Akbar-nama* pages (see details of cat. nos. 5c and 12g) illustrates as well the rapidity with which Mughal painters shifted from stock figural types of their Islamic and Hindu heritage (see details illustrated on page 14) to convincingly individualized characterizations.

There are also important nonstylistic developments during the Akbar period. The earliest works—other than the *Hamza-nama*—are generally small, and the illustrations are often less than full page. By the 1580s folios have usually become larger in size, and illustrations are full page and often no longer include panels of text (among exceptions are the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* [cat. no. 10a–d] and *Jami al-Tawarikh* [cat. no. 11]). The great dynastic histories, such as the *Timur-nama*, *Babur-namas* (cat. nos. 7–8), *Jami al-Tawarikh*, are virtual state documents and almost ceremonially large and impressive. On occasion, manuscripts changed character as they were made. Catalogue number 12a, from the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*, for example, illustrates an early passage of the text and is less than full page, the format that soon became standard. By the second volume of the work, the portion now in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, most of the illustrations had expanded to become double page,

Detail of cat. no. 5c. *Zardbank Khatni Brings the Key to Maltas, the Prison Keeper*. From the *Hamza-nama*, circa 1562–77.







Detail of cat. no. 12g. *Akbar Hears a Petition*.  
From the *Akbar-nama*. Attributed here to Ma-  
nohar, circa 1604.



extending across both halves of the open book. (Smaller, personal books were also made, probably for the emperor's private use and delectation.)

While most of the major manuscripts of the 1580s had illustrations designed by one artist and executed by an assistant, that system became less satisfactory in the 1590s when imperial taste was more sophisticated, demanding uniformly high quality. There does not seem to have been any rationale, other than a demand for general consistency within each individual project, for the assignment of joint, rather than unassisted, workmanship. The major designers were the men listed first in Abu'l Fazl's important discussion of painters. He says:

More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.

Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention:

1. Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz. He learned the art from his father. From the time of his introduction at Court, the ray of royal favour has shone upon him. He has made himself famous in his art, and has met with much success.

2. Khwaja Abdu s-Samad, styled *Shiringalam*, or *sweet pen*. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee of the Court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. From the instruction they received, the Khwaja's pupils became masters [see cat. no. 16d].

3. Daswanth. He is the son of a palkee-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love of his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed over to the Khwaja. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide. He has left many masterpieces.

4. Basawan. In back grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent, so much so that many critics prefer him to Daswanth [see cat. no. 9].

The following painters have likewise attained fame: Kesu [see cat. no. 11], Lal, Mukund, Mushkin [or Miskin (see cat. nos. 13 and 19)], Farrukh the Qalmaq, Madhu, Jagan, Mohesh [or Mahesh (see cat. no. 9)], Khemkaran, Tara, Sanla [or Sanwlah], Haribas, Ram.<sup>40</sup>

The list seems clearly hierarchical, for—with the exception of Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd as-Samad—the first six painters are those assigned the greatest responsibility in manuscript projects. A typical pattern is that of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* of 1596 (cat. no. 11), executed well after Daswanth's death and at the very end of Kesu's career. Of the ninety-eight illustrations in the Tehran volume of that work, Miskin executed twenty designs, Lal nineteen, and Basawan sixteen. In the next group, assignments are substantially reduced, for the next most important painters are Farrukh with seven designs, Sanwlah with six, and Makand and Dharm Das, each given four; the remaining pages are divided among artists responsible for only one or two folios. Of the assistants who completed the designs, Asi was assigned the greatest number, five; Ram Das was given four; and the remaining artists three or less; so there was certainly a greater number of painters in this second rank. The designers usually had a varied group of collaborators, as if this were a way to exercise supervision over—and to train—the large number of artists involved, but the assistants often worked with only one or two master painters. Asi, for example, worked on this manuscript exclusively with Miskin, who was his brother, and here, as with many manuscripts, the major portraiture on seventeen different pages was executed by Madhu, whose assignments clearly show that this was his specialty.

It is worth noting that this system remained consistent from its real instigation with the *Razm-nama* begun in 1582. There Lal executed 38 of the 167 designs, Basawan 33, Daswanth 30, and Makand 11. This procedure may, of course, have been necessitated by demands for speed and efficiency; major artists working alone could never have executed or worked on so many illustrations.

The mature manuscripts of the Akbar period, through the 1590s, were made by a relatively constant community of artists. After 1600, with the end of Basawan's career, this changes somewhat. The circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*, the last great production begun under Akbar's patronage, is still dom-



inated by the "old guard," for Dharm Das executed at least fourteen pages and Lal thirteen. A number of names, however, are given new prominence: Balchand, Daulat, Dhanraj, Govardhan, Hiranand, or Manohar among others, and their works are the most innovative. These are painters who only reached maturity under Jahangir; they were young still in 1604 and capable, therefore, of forming their styles in response to Jahangir's particular demands and taste.

## THE EMPERORS JAHANGIR (r.1605–27) AND SHAH JAHAN (r.1627–58)

In 1599 Prince Salim, the future Jahangir (see detail of cat. no. 17a), rebelled against his father and set up an independent court at Allahabad, to the east of Delhi. It was a lavish establishment, and reports of his high living and imperiousness disturbed Akbar.

At this time it was reported by truthful and disinterested persons that the heart of that cypress of fortune's stream had become excessively addicted to wine. He did not keep his lips from the wine-cup for a moment. When he got habituated to wine, he drank more, but the intoxication was less, so he added opium. . . . At the time when a double intoxication had taken hold of him, and when the brain was dried up, and his disposition unsettled, he for slight offense ordered unfitting, capital punishments. For instance, he had his Recorder flayed alive in his presence. And he castrated one of the pages, and had a *khidmatgar* (servant) beaten so that he died.<sup>41</sup>

Salim was thirty when he rebelled. His life had been spent at a politically secure and enormously wealthy court, where he had experienced few restraints, and he was impatient to gain the power he had been bred to expect. His entourage at Allahabad included painters, in particular Aqa Riza, an Iranian émigré, and his young son Abu'l Hasan, and several manuscripts are known that can be attributed to these years. The presence of Aqa Riza and his followers gave a particularly Iranian orientation to Salim's workshops and a character quite distinct from the imperial studios.<sup>42</sup>

Having heard that Akbar was ill, Salim returned to Agra in November 1604, and the following year Akbar died. The prince, who took the titles Jahangir (World Seizer) and Nur-ud-din (Light of the Faith), was the only surviving heir, his two brothers Murad and Daniyal having died of alcoholism. Murad especially had been interested in painting. Several informal portraits of him, which must have been made for his personal use, are known (e.g., cat. no. 22). The group is attributable to the painter Manohar, suggesting that certain artists may have been patronized consistently by members of the imperial family.

The most fascinating documents for understanding Jahangir-period painting and the greatest evidence for the eclecticism and quality of the emperor's taste are the albums that he formed, which begin with his years at Allahabad. Four double-sided pages are in the Freer Gallery (cat. no. 16a–d). They contain a wide variety of works that aroused Jahangir's interest, including Deccani, Mughal, and Persian paintings and drawings; European prints; and a painting by a European traveling in India.<sup>43</sup> The folios were arranged so that paintings were placed on facing pages, alternating with double pages of calligraphy. Three major groups of album pages remain together, but the folios are not in their original sequence, unfortunately, and many pages are scattered among European and American collections. With careful work it is possible to establish at least tentative combinations, however. *Jamshid Writing on a Rock* (cat. no. 16d verso), for example, almost certainly faced *Hunting Scene* now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 3). Both pages have identical borders and are associated with Abd as-Samad, and the Los Angeles illustration was enlarged in the early seventeenth century to make it the same size as the Freer folio. By placing them together, as the photographs here allow us to do, we see the careful craftsmanship that was applied to the mounting and framing of the paintings and the extraordinarily sumptuous effect. The marginal designs are decorative (arabesque or floral and bird motifs, as here) for the illustrations and figurative for the calligraphic panels. Among the border figures are copies and adaptations of European prints and some of the greatest and most interesting Mughal portraits, including those of nobles, artists, and craftsmen (see details of cat. no. 16b recto and 16d recto).

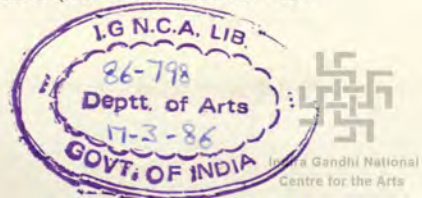






Fig. 3. *Hunting Scene*. From an album of Jahangir. By Abd as-Samad, dated 1591. Los Angeles County Museum of Art; The Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection (L.69.24.220).



Cat. no. 16d. *Jamshid Writing on a Rock*. From an album of Jahangir. By Abd as-Samad, 1588.

Such informal studies are a development of the seventeenth century. Few portraits of Akbar are known, other than his official images in the *Akbar-nama* manuscripts, but during the years between 1600 and 1605, the overall character of painting again changes—although these years are not yet properly understood. Instead of vast illustrated histories and manuscripts with literally hundreds of illustrations, books become smaller in size, with fewer and finer illustrations, usually the product of one painter working alone. Even the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*, the most elaborate project of these last years, is a far more epicurean, mature, and controlled manuscript than the first copy of the text illustrated in 1590 or earlier. There is also a concentration on individual portraits and psychological interactions rather than on simple physical activity (compare details of cat. nos. 9 and 12g). These are changes of taste, which Jahangir further refines, but they seem to originate in the imperial studios at a time when he was at Allahabad and therefore not influential.

Like Akbar, Jahangir kept close watch on the work of his painters, and we have already quoted his claims of connoisseurship and the importance for him of artists' personal styles. Otherwise his memoirs are only peripherally informative about painting during his rule. He mentions only two specific artists, Abu'l Hasan (cat. nos. 17b, 27, and 31) and Mansur (cat. no. 7):

In this day Abu-l-Hasan, the painter, who has been honoured with the title of Nadiru-l-zaman, drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the Jahangir-nama, and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal. . . . His father, Aqa Riza'i, of Herat, at the time when I was a Prince, joined my service. He (Abu-l-Hasan) was a *khanazad* of my





Detail of cat. no. 17a. *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings*. From the *Leningrad Album*. By Bichitr, circa 1615–18.







Detail of cat. no. 16a recto. *Marginal Figures*.  
From an album of Jahangir, circa 1600.



Detail of cat. no. 16d recto. *Marginal Figures*  
(A Prince Worshipping the Moon; An Astrol-  
oger and Courtiers). From an album of Jahan-  
gir, circa 1610.

Detail of cat. no. 9. *Babur at the Capture of  
Kabul*. From the *Akbar-nama*. Painted by Ma-  
hesh, with portraits by Basawan, circa 1590 or  
earlier.



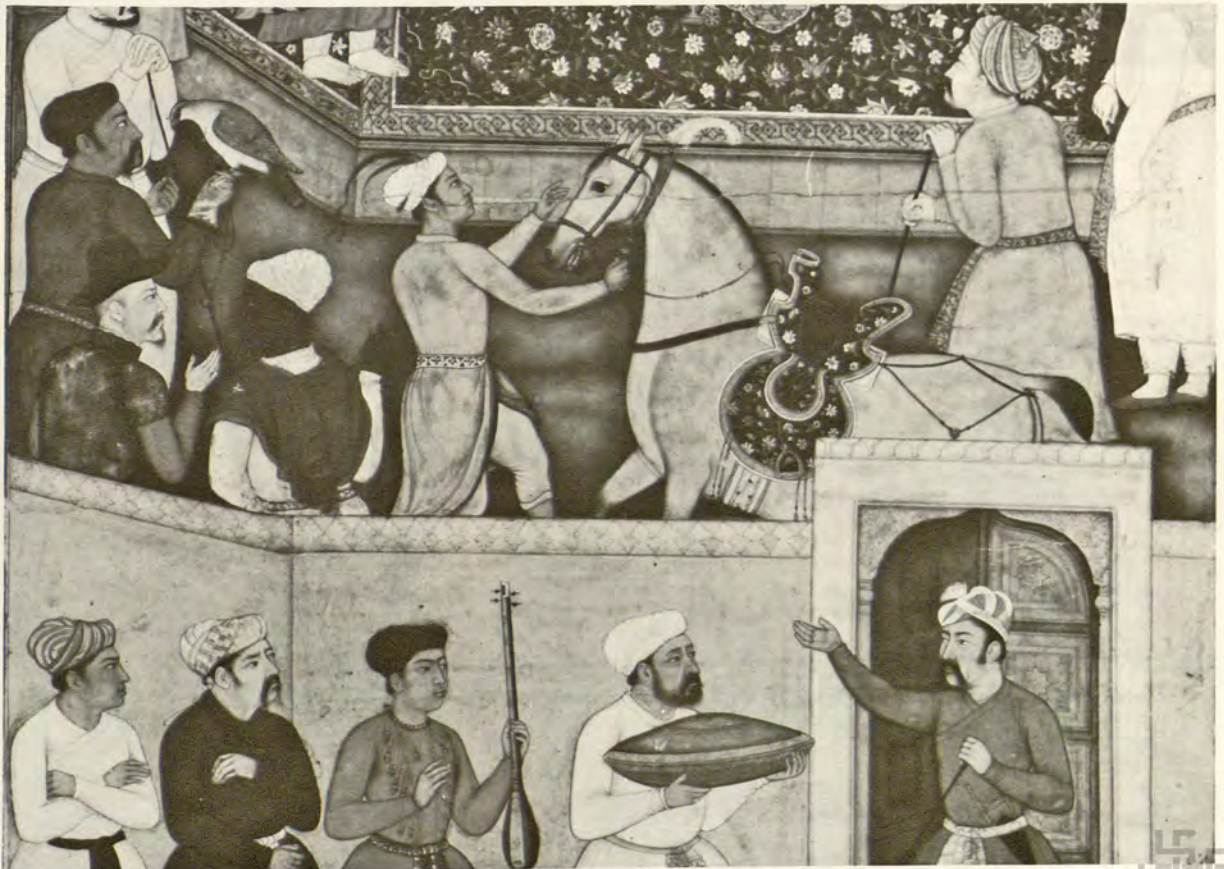


Court [that is, he was born at my Court]. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father. One cannot put them into the same category. My connection was based on my having reared him. From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become Nadira-i-zaman ("the wonder of the age"). Also, Ustad Mansur has become such a master in painting that he has the title of Nadiru-l-Asr, and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation. In the time of my father's reign and my own these two have had no third.<sup>44</sup>

Mansur is the most famous of Jahangir's natural history painters. Like Abu'l Hasan, his concern was not for obvious brilliance of pattern or technique, rather these devices are subservient to the subject. Both begin their work with an acceptance of the objective reality of their subjects and then explore their individual forms and characters. Lines and colors seldom assume independent expressiveness but simply become the shapes and textures of the forms to which they refer. Their work is the culmination of the direction of Mughal painting after the death of Daswanth in 1584.

Unlike Akbar, Jahangir commissioned many portraits of himself. About 1615, however, a new element enters these works, for the portraits begin to contain allegorical and symbolic references, such as the globe upon which Jahangir places his feet in a portrait by Abu'l Hasan (cat. no. 31). At the same time, clear references to English painting are found. In *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings*, for example, there is incorporated a portrait of James I of England (see detail of cat. no. 17a) included among the attendants, and it is directly copied from a work such as figure 4 by John de Critz, whose title of Sargent Painter meant that he supplied official portraits for the English king, works that would have been sent as ambassadorial gifts. In 1615 such an envoy arrived at the Mughal

Detail of cat. no. 12g. *Akbar Hears a Petition*.  
From the *Akbar-nama*. Attributed here to Ma-  
nohar, circa 1604.





court, then at Ajmer. This was Sir Thomas Roe, whose entertaining memoirs are a prime source for our knowledge of Mughal India. We know little about the gifts that he presented to Jahangir on behalf of his sovereign, but the emperor was childishy eager to receive them. When Roe first arrived, for example, he was too ill to immediately meet with the emperor, and he notes:

December 31, 1615—This night the king, impatient of my delay and eager on his presents, suspecting that I was not so ill as I pretended, sent a gentellman with a wyld hogg to mee for a Present, which he kylld in hunting; and Chardged him to see mee, so that I was forced to admitt him into my Chamber, wher he saw my weaknes and gaue satisfaction to the king.<sup>45</sup>

The East India Company, for which Roe was to negotiate trading concessions, had sent very minor gifts, and Jahangir was astonished at their poverty. Roe states that he asked, “whether the Kyng of England was a great Kyng that sent presents of so small valewe.”<sup>46</sup> Throughout his time in India, Roe had to ask continually for better quality goods to be sent, including “Pictures of all sortes, if good. . . . Diana this yere gave great content.”<sup>47</sup> In return, Jahangir presented Roe with his portrait, and this seems to have returned to Europe with the ambassador.<sup>48</sup>

Mughal allegorical portraits seem also to base their concepts on general English prototypes. For example, the superb *Jahangir Embracing Shah Abbas* (cat. no. 17b) seems modeled on such general English sources as *Portrait of Elizabeth I* (fig. 5) in the National Portrait Gallery, London. In this painting the monarch stands on a globe, with her back to storm clouds, facing—or ushering in—celestial light, and a sonnet inscribed on the right asserts that the sun itself pales beside the radiance of Her Majesty—a concept that Jahangir could certainly understand, for he had already written at the beginning of his memoirs, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (or *Jahangir-nama*):

Detail of cat. no. 17a. *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings*. From the *Leningrad Album*. By Bichitr, circa 1615–18.



Fig. 4. *Portrait of James I*. By John de Critz. England, circa 1605. Loseley Park, Guilford. Photograph courtesy The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.







Cat. no. 17b. *Jahangir Embracing Shah Abbas*. From the *Leningrad Album*. By Abu'l Hasan, circa 1618.



Fig. 5. *Portrait of Elizabeth I*. By Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. England, circa 1592. National Portrait Gallery, London.

When I became king it occurred to me to change my name. . . . An inspiration from the hidden world brought it into my mind that, inasmuch as the business of kings is the controlling of the world, I should give myself the name of Jahangir (World-Seizer) and make my title of honour Nuru-d-din [Light of the Faith], inasmuch as my sitting on the throne coincided with the rising and shining on the earth of the great light (the Sun).<sup>49</sup>

Roe also had pictures of his family and friends (including at least one portrait by the great English miniature painter Isaac Oliver) among his personal possessions, and we know that Jahangir demanded to see them.<sup>50</sup> Such works were probably the first European paintings (as opposed to prints) of first-rate quality that Jahangir had seen; and besides the iconographic innovations they inspired, they changed overall the Mughal idea of portraiture. Before about 1615, for example, the emperors were usually shown in a narrative context. In this regard, the *Darbar of Jahangir* (cat. no. 31) is somewhat old-fashioned. After 1615, however, we frequently find majestic figures isolated against lavish symbols of their wealth and power (e.g., cat. no. 17c) or with symbolic references to important, if imagined, events (e.g., cat. no. 17b). These changes correspond with English taste and format.

The major manuscript of the period, worked on from at least 1612 until the end of the reign, was the illustrated version of the emperor's memoirs. Only dispersed pages are presently known, and it may be that they were never finally placed in a bound copy. There is as well considerable uncertainty about the dating and authenticity of several possible pages (all are listed on pp. 172–73). Certain of the *Jahangir-nama* illustrations were among the group of Mughal pictures taken to Iran in the mid-



eighteenth century and assembled into an album with contemporary Iranian marginal designs. Six pages in the Freer Gallery were intended originally for this album (cat. no. 17a-f), and among these is a superb *Jahangir-nama* page showing *Jahangir Giving Books to Shaikhs* (cat. no. 17d). Jahangir was devoted to holy men, both Muslim and Hindu, sometimes visiting isolated caves to talk with particularly devout ascetics, at other times bringing such men to court. Sir Thomas Roe was astonished by one of these visits.

December 18.—I visited the king. . . . I found him sitting on his throwne, and a beggar at his feet, a poore silly ould man, all ashd, ragged, and Patched, with a young roage attending him. With these kinde of professed Poore holy men the Country aboundes, and are held in great Reuerance. . . . This miserable wretch, clothd in raggs, crowned with feathers, couered with ashes, his Maiestie talked with about an hower, with such familiarity and show of kindnes that it must needed argue an humilitie not found easely among kinges.<sup>51</sup>

Jahangir's intense interest in people is reflected in the portraits he commissioned. The depictions of himself are often extraordinarily perceptive and reveal his frailties and humanity as well as his splendor. Even the general level of perceptiveness in the *Jahangir-nama* page is far more acute, for example, than in such pages as the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama* illustration reproduced earlier (compare details of cat. nos. 12g and 17d). For a major portion of the paintings he commissioned after his accession—it is less true of the Allahabad works—there is a strong, scientific interest in the appearance and character of the natural world. It is not a matter merely of intent and aspiration, as it frequently is in Akbari works, but one of achievement; and it is not a purely artistic attitude, but it is the fabric of Jahangir's life. In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, he recounts the various (sometimes outlandish) scientific experiments that he conducted. In 1618, for example, he arranged a test to confirm whether the air of Mahmudabad was actually better—as proclaimed—than that of nearby Ahmadabad:

By way of testing this I ordered them to hang up a sheep on the bank of the Kankriya tank after taking off its skin, and at the same time one at Mahmudabad, that the difference of the air might be ascertained. It happened that after seven *gharis* of day had passed in that place (Ahmadabad) they hung up the sheep. When three *gharis* of day remained it became so changed and putrid that it was difficult to pass near it. They hung up the sheep at Mahmudabad in the morning, and it was altogether unchanged until the evening, and began to be putrid when one and a half watches of night had passed. Briefly, in the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad it became putrid in eight sidereal hours, and in Mahmudabad in fourteen hours.<sup>52</sup>

On another occasion, he ordered Inayat Kahn, a courtier dying of opium addiction, to sit for his portrait before he was allowed to return home to die. "Though painters have striven much in drawing an emaciated face, yet I have never seen anything like this. . . . I directed painters to take his portrait,"<sup>53</sup> the emperor wrote, and the next day Inayat Khan was dead.

Jahangir seems constantly to have been moving; not, like Akbar, on military campaigns, but just to keep himself in touch with his kingdom and entertained. In his memoirs he noted when jugglers came to entertain him or firs arrived from Ahmadabad; we read of the mating of saras cranes and the sweetness of camel's milk and of a man who felled two small trees without permission and was punished by having his thumbs cut off. He states how far he traveled and how long it took him and evokes a truly imperial image at such times as his arrival in Ahmadabad in 1618, when "I hastened along scattering money."<sup>54</sup>

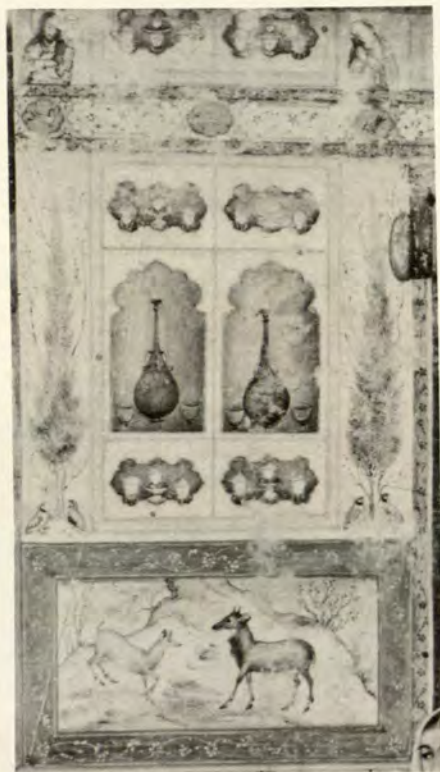
It was a life of extreme opulence, and the paintings re-create it for us. Clothing might be of gold thread or the sheerest gauze; cups and dishes were of jade, rock crystal, or Chinese porcelain; and all imported objects were highly coveted. Painters decorated the rooms in which the emperor lived. Jahangir wrote:

On the 27th Khurdad apricots arrived (from Kabul). The picture-gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humayun and of my father opposite my own, and that of my brother Shah Abbas. After them were the likenesses of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Shah Murad, and Sultan Daniyal. On the second story were the likenesses of the Amirs and special servants. On the walls of the outer hall the stages of the road to Kashmir were recorded in the order in which I had come to them.<sup>55</sup>





Detail of cat. no. 17d. *Jahangir Giving Books to Shaikhs*. From the *Jahangir-nama* and *Leningrad Album*, circa 1620.



Detail of cat. no. 32. *Jahangir and Prince Khurram Feasted by Nur Jahan*. From an album of Shah Jahan, circa 1617.

Such a painted pavilion, but with different decorations including a head of the Virgin Mary, is the setting for catalogue number 32 (see detail). The woman shown in this work may be an idealized portrait of Nur Jahan, the most powerful and important of Jahangir's wives, who took over much of the governing of the country in the later years of Jahangir's reign, when he had become enfeebled by alcohol and opium. In the seventeenth regnal year (1622–23), he was forced to write in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*:

As in consequence of the weakness that came over me two years ago and still continues, heart and brain do not accord. I cannot make notes of events and occurrences.<sup>56</sup>

The remainder of the text, which he had himself kept since his accession, was written by a courtier and friend.

The final years of Jahangir's life were deeply affected by the actions of Shah Jahan (see detail of cat. no. 17f), his son, who revolted against his father as Jahangir had rebelled against Akbar. After 1619 the two men never again saw each other, and in 1623 Jahangir ordered "that henceforth they should call him [Shah Jahan] *Bi-daulat* (wretch)."<sup>57</sup> *Jahangir Holding a Globe* (cat. no. 18b) shows the emperor as master of the universe, while his armies defeat his son's troops in 1623.

Prince Khurram, Jahangir's second son, was given the title Shah Jahan (King of the World) in 1617, placing him above his elder brother Khusrau, whom Jahangir had earlier blinded. Shah Jahan's portraits, even those painted during Jahangir's rule, show him to be a stiff, formal individual; it is highly unlikely that he was ever shown as informally as was his uncle Prince Murad in catalogue number 22, for example. Shah Jahan was obsessed with imperial splendor. Besides commissioning immaculate portraits, he rebuilt much of the palace complex at Agra, replacing the earlier red sandstone buildings with brilliant white marble and eventually building a completely new capital, Shahjahanabad,





Detail of cat. no. 1. *Vasanta Vilasa*, 1451.





Cat. no. 3b. *The Sleeping Shatrajit Murdered by Satadhanva*. From the *Bhagavata Purana*, early 16th century.





Detail of cat. no. 17f. *Shah Jahan Honors the Religious Orthodoxy*. From the *Padshah-nama* and *Leningrad Album*, circa 1635.



which is now the old part of Delhi. Even more than Akbar, Shah Jahan needed tangible evidence of his power; the closest Jahangir comes to this, in the arts, is with the allegorical portraits, and these tell us of his worries, not his infallibility.

Shah Jahan is known to have visited a holy man only once, although he entertained such men on state occasions. *Shah Jahan Honors the Religious Orthodoxy* (cat. no. 17e–f) seems to have been painted to illustrate an episode of his eldest son's wedding in 1633. It is a brilliant but stylistically conservative page from the illustrated version of his memoirs, the *Padshah-nama* (or *Shah Jahan-nama*).

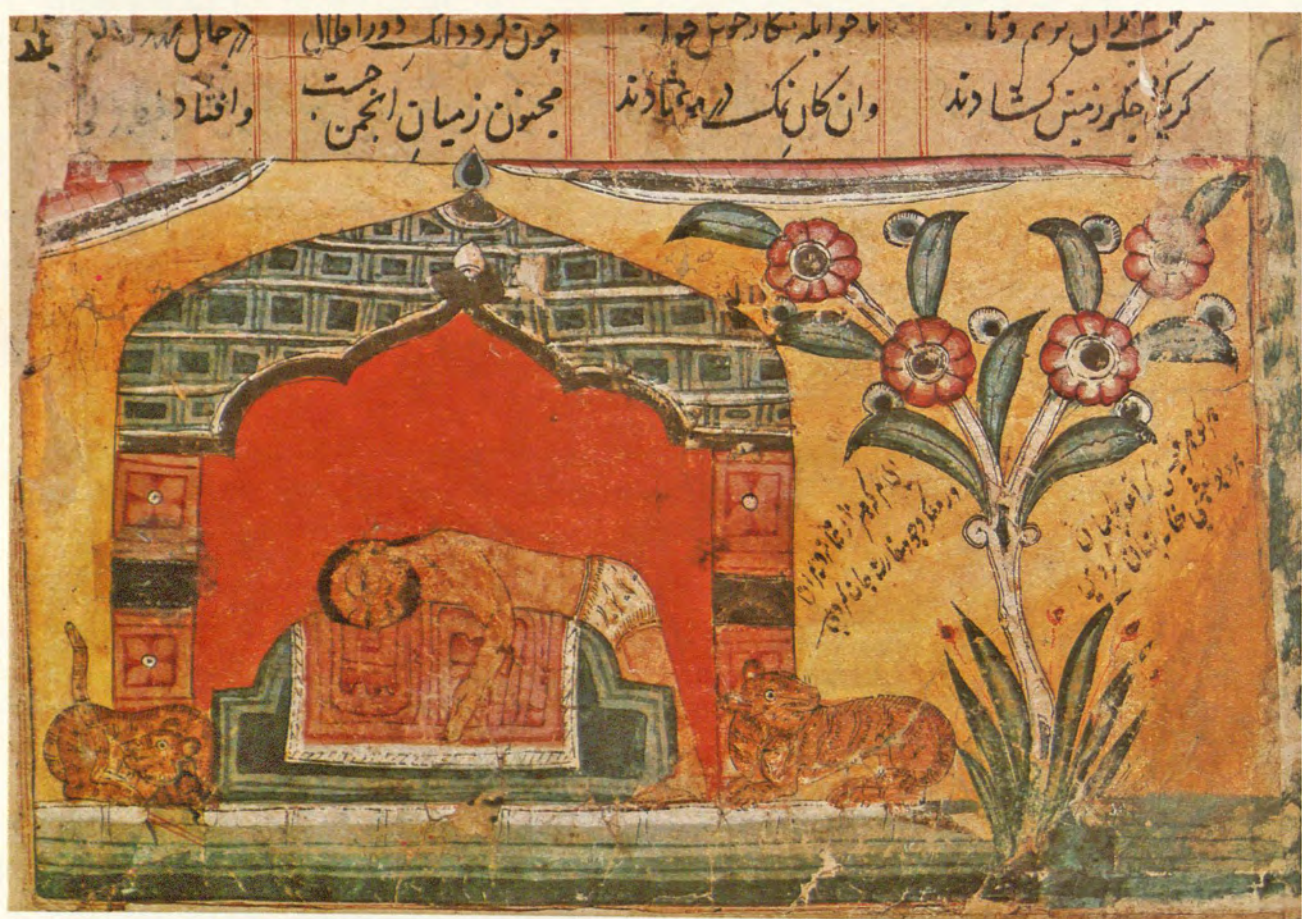
While there is a strongly innovative trend in Shah Jahan period painting,<sup>58</sup> the works illustrated here represent the more traditional aspects, the continuation of Jahangiri naturalism. The superb albums that Shah Jahan formed are the best evidence for this, for the production of manuscripts sharply declined. The *Kevorkian Album*, divided between the Metropolitan Museum and the Freer Gallery, contains some original Shah Jahan period album leaves interspersed with copies of about 1650 and others of the early nineteenth century, when the album was formed. Most of the illustrated pages are single portraits, for Shah Jahan had neither the eclectic taste nor the intellectual voraciousness of Akbar and Jahangir. *Portrait of Abd ar-Rahim, Khan Khanan* by Hashim (cat. no. 18a), one of his greatest artists, is a perfect example of the style he preferred: technically faultless, highly perceptive, and painted with alarming self-confidence. All the pages are surrounded by floral borders, and their character—jewellike, exquisite, and very formal—is completely different from the impetuous, spirited borders of Jahangir's albums. Robert Skelton has attributed these floral designs to an awareness of European herbals.<sup>59</sup>

## RELATED TRADITIONS

From the third quarter of the sixteenth century, painting throughout northern India was dominated by the imperial Mughal style, and it became a standard of excellence that other regions and patrons often tried to emulate. Akbar sometimes gave to major nobles copies (occasionally illustrated) of the texts that he had translated; this would explain the several volumes of the *Babur-nama*, for example. At other times, he urged them to have versions made for themselves. The most famous of this latter group is the *Ramayana* manuscript illustrated here (cat. no. 15). It was made between 1587 and 1598 for Abd ar-Rahim, Khan Khanan, whose portrait in the *Kevorkian Album* we have just mentioned. Its inspiration is the imperial copy dated between 1584 and 1589, although the 130 illustrations are new compositions. As one would expect of such an ambitious project for a subimperial patron, the level of quality widely varies. The earliest pages are generally by artists of imperial (or potentially imperial) calibre (e.g., cat. no. 15h), but others are less competent. Several of the artists are known to have worked exclusively for the Khan Khanan (if we can believe contemporary texts), but others were mobile, and some eventually joined Akbar's studios. In general, subimperial commissions are rougher in execution, less refined in taste, and more receptive to Hindu sensibilities (in color or strength of impact, for example) than were the Akbari works of the later sixteenth century. After 1590 Akbar's interest in Hindu India drastically declined.

The Muslim courts at Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda—in the Deccan, south of the Mughal territories—also had important schools of painting active in the early seventeenth century, when the three kingdoms were still independent of Mughal control. Deccani rulers had established cultural and economic ties with Iran and Turkey and strongly resisted Mughal political inroads. (*Jahangir Shooting the Head of Malik Ambar* [cat. no. 18c], for example, illustrates the emperor's wishful annihilation of the great Abyssinian general of Ahmadnagar.) Some painters moved between Deccani and Mughal patrons, however, for the range of subject was similar: Persian poetical texts, copies of European prints (cat. nos. 35–36), and portraiture. It has usually been assumed that the interest in prints was derived from the Mughals, whereas these works certainly could have reached the Deccani courts quite separately. The *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 35) perfectly shows the tension between European attitudes to shading and the traditional Islamic love of intricate, flat surface pattern. The





Detail of cat. no. 2b. *Majnun Laments the Death of Laila*. From the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, circa 1450 or earlier.



modeling on the Virgin's face, for example, does nothing to create a sense of weight or mass or a convincing personality—its usual use in Mughal illustrations. It instead becomes another means to reinforce a sense of conscious design. The Deccani styles are not interested in advanced Mughal achievements in naturalism; rather, they relate to the most conservative aspect of Mughal paintings. The Mughal *A Youth Reading* (cat. no. 28) with its generalized figural type and ornamental composition was originally attributed to Bijapur. These are the least distinctive and original of Mughal illustrations, although this is no reflection on their quality as works of art, and they underscore the common Islamic heritage of both the imperial Mughal and Deccani styles.

## Notes

The Key to Abbreviated References appears on p. 229.

1. *Babur-nama*, p. 460.
2. *Akbar-nama*, 1: 309.
3. Quoted in H. M. Elliott and J. Dowson, *A History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*. Reprint. (Delhi, 1964), 5: 548–49.
4. *A'in*, pp. 109–10.
5. Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 187.
6. *A'in*, p. 13.
7. *Tuzuk*, pp. 20–21.
8. M. Fahfuzul Haq, "The Khan Khanan and His Painters, Illuminators and Calligraphers," *Islamic Culture* (1931): 627.
9. The page by Abd as-Samad is listed here on page 167; for the *Babur-nama* illustration, see E. Smart, "Six folios from a dispersed manuscript of the Babarnama," *Colnaghi* 1978, p. 113; and the *Padshah-nama* page is illustrated in *Beach GM*, no. 24.
10. *A'in*, p. 113.
11. *Babur-nama*, p. 518.
12. Jauhar, *Tezkereh al Vakiat*, p. 43.
13. See, for example, the works by Abd as-Samad listed here on pages 166–67.
14. *Akbar-nama*, 1: 437.
15. Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 180. This work in its entirety is a thorough study of the evolving Mughal style.
16. *Akbar-nama*, 3: 37.
17. *Ibid.*, 3: 157–58.
18. Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), p. 24.
19. *Badaoni*, pp. 260–61.
20. *Akbar-nama*, 346–47.
21. The only published works by Daswanth working unassisted are in the Cleveland *Tuti-nama* manuscript; see Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, pp. 88–90, which lists other known works.
22. *Akbar-nama*, 3: 651.
23. This shift was first discussed in Robert Skelton, "Mughal Paintings from Harivamsa Manuscript," *Yearbook of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, 2: 41–54.
24. *Badaoni*, p. 310.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
27. *A'in*, p. 268.
28. See especially Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, pp. 223–99.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 354–55.
30. *A'in*, p. 115.
31. Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam*. Reprint. (New York, 1965), p. 9.
32. *A'in*, p. 115.
33. *Ibid.*
34. I am grateful to Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh for this information.
35. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, 1: 454.
36. Khwandamir, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, p. 37.
37. M. C. Beach, "A European Source for Early Mughal Painting," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 2 (1976): 180–88.
38. du Jarrio, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 26.
39. *A'in*, pp. 113–14.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
41. *Akbar-nama*, 3: 1242.
42. *Beach GM*, pp. 33–41.
43. *Ibid.*, no. 9.
44. *Tuzuk* 2: 20.
45. Roe, *Embassy*, p. 105.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 488.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 224. Roe was presented with one portrait, for example, in 1616. He left India in February 1619 aboard the *Anne* and arrived in England late in August. A master's mate on the voyage was a surveyor and mapmaker named William Baffin, and immediately after his return, Baffin drew, perhaps aided by Roe's accounts, a map that was engraved by Renold Elstrack and published by Thomas Sterne in 1619. Two versions of this first English map of India are known, and priority has not been established (see Chas. Bricker, *A History of Cartography* [London, 1969], p. 141; and Roe, *Embassy*, facing p. 546). Elstrack also engraved a portrait of Jahangir at the same time, which was probably copied from a work brought back by Roe. Another early European engraving copied after a Mughal portrait was published in 1625 in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (*ibid.*, facing p. 114), and an inscription assigns the original to the painter Manohar, possibly in 1616.
49. *Tuzuk*, 1: 3.
50. Roe, *Embassy*, p. 214.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 366.
52. *Tuzuk*, 2: 33.
53. Quoted in *Beach GM*, no. 60.
54. *Tuzuk*, 1: 423.
55. *Ibid.*, 2: 161–62.
56. *Ibid.*, 2: 246.
57. *Ibid.*, 2: 248.
58. *Beach GM*, pp. 28–29.
59. Robert Skelton, "A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art," in *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. P. Pal (Leiden, 1972), pp. 147–52.





Cat. no. 5b. *Aemr, Disguised as the Surgeon Mizzmubil, Arrives before the Fort at Antalya.* From the *Hamza-nama*. Attributed here to Mahesh, circa 1562–77.



## *Catalogue*

Measurements are those of the illustrations exclusive of borders, unless otherwise noted. Height precedes width. Additional measurements are for the full page.





## The *Vasanta Vilasa*

The pre-Mughal *Vasanta Vilasa* (Beauty of Spring) celebrates the richness and fertility of rebirth with a lushness of imagery not found in the Muslim tradition:

now that winter has gone, spring has started to come; the bees have been set to humming by the honey in the flowers; all the mango trees resound with the cuckoo's call. . . .

Pleasant breezes blow, unsteady the hearts of obstinate women; they refresh the bodies of amorous women exhausted from the sports of love.<sup>1</sup>

It is understood to be a secular text, yet it praises Kama, the god of love; and underlying the evocations of physical unity and passion is the implicit metaphor of the lover and the beloved as the individual soul seeking union with the divine. The same significance is understood in the many passages of the *Bhagavata Purana* (cat. no. 3) describing the amorous escapades of the Hindu Krishna. Such imagery must be considered Indian rather than merely sectarian, for the *Vasanta Vilasa* is a Jain work.

An inscription names the patron (Shah Sri Candrapala, son of Shah Sri Depala) and gives the provenance as Ahmadabad and the year 1508 according to the Hindu calendar (A.D. 1451–52), the first year of the reign of Qutb-ud-din, son of Ahmad Shah; and they are also mentioned in the inscription. The ruler was a Muslim; yet the work shows no Islamic influence since the Jain and Muslim communities had little cultural contact. It is in a thoroughly Indian style that descends from the great cave paintings made at least seven centuries earlier at Ajanta and Ellora.

While the illustrations and text are arranged in scroll format, they could as easily have been placed on separate, oblong folios of paper, the more usual practice. The paintings are in a very free, loose, and lively version of an often rigid style; this is the only illustrated *Vasanta Vilasa* known, and painters may, therefore, have been forced to be inventive. In the more standard texts, individual initiative was checked by preordained compositions. As in the *Bhagavata Purana*, the strength of the scenes lies in their directness and immediacy of impact and the clarity of the narrative.

The illustrations and text of the scroll have been very thoroughly studied and published by W. Norman Brown.

REFERENCES: N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay 1926), pp. 15–28 and pl. 6; Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India* (Ahmadabad, 1948), pp. 54–56; W. Norman Brown, *The Vasanta Vilasa* (New Haven, 1962).

## 1 VASANTA VILASA

Ahmadabad, dated 1451

1101.5 × 23.5 cm. (433 11/16 × 9 1/4 in.), on cloth

PUBLISHED: Brown, *Vasanta Vilasa*.

32.24

*Details, pp. 13–14; colorplate, p. 34*

The bee, which moves from one lush blossom to the next, is a favorite metaphor in India for physical desire. The detail (illustrated on p. 13) corresponds with stanza 79 of the text: "The bee does not set foot on the campaka flower because he finds it without fragrance. Every object of beauty has its flaw. It has always been so."<sup>2</sup> The scene (illustrated on p. 34) describes how the bee exhausts itself seeking the superb but rare scent of the kuramga flower. The artist has added human figures that are not cited in the text.

### NOTES

1. Brown, *Vasanta Vilasa*, pp. 21–23.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

## The *Khamisa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Amir Khusrau of Delhi (Dihlavi) (circa 1253–1325) was a favorite poet of the Mughal emperors, and his *Deval Devi Khidr Khan* (see Appendix) is the earliest inscriptionally dated Mughal manuscript (1567–68). The identity of this present work as the *Khamisa* (Quintet) of Amir Khusrau written in 1301–2, was made by Wahid Mirza of Lucknow University (in correspondence to the Freer Gallery).

The Indian origin of the manuscript has been so frequently argued (see References, p. 45) that it is simply accepted here. Richard Ettinghausen, who first published two of the Freer pages, has noted the stylistic similarities of the illustrations to Mamluk Egyptian painting of the mid-fourteenth century, and an excellent comparison is provided by a page from the *Sulwan al-Muta* manuscript of the second quarter of the fourteenth century (fig. 6). It shares with *Majnun Laments the Death of Laila* (cat. no. 2b), the large, decorative floral motifs and formalization of the sky as narrow bands at the top of the page. Both works are extraordinarily simple and direct, yet the Mamluk page is far more finely executed, while the sultanate illustrations have a strength of color and general





Fig. 6. *The Tale of the Horse and the Boar*.  
From the *Sulwan al-Muta* of ibn Zafar. Egypt,  
second quarter 14th century. Freer Gallery of  
Art (54.1v).



Cat. no. 2b

roughness that allies them (in this regard) with pre-Mughal Indian painting. An even more convincing comparison can be made with Inju dynasty Iranian manuscripts from Shiraz, such as the *Kitab-i-Samak Ayyar* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.<sup>1</sup> It is dated circa 1330–40 and confirms the fourteenth-century sources of the Amir Khusrau manuscript style. Ettinghausen, however, has asserted that the script used in the text of the latter work cannot be earlier than about 1450, although this is questioned by Melikian Chirvani; and, indeed, there seems no good reason to date the illustrations so late.

The provenance within India is uncertain and much disputed. The figure types seem to be the source for the Persian (or at least “foreign”) figures shown in Gujarati Jain manuscripts of the *Kalakacaryakatha*, however, which agree also in the colors used and in the occasional decorative use of floral panels.<sup>2</sup>

In general, the pages are in poor condition, with badly flaking pigment and paper often considerably patched (usually with unillustrated folios from the same manuscript), making examination of the text difficult. Rutherford J. Gettens, former head curator

of the Freer Technical Laboratory, examined the paintings at the time of their purchase and issued the following report:

These small paintings which measure generally about 21 cm. wide, and vary from 9 to 12 cm. high, are thinly painted in solid colors directly on the paper. There is no evidence of a ground or preparatory layer.

The colors are brilliant and the palette is varied. The pigments employed are from both natural and artificial sources. These were identified by microscopic and microchemical methods. Most of the samples, unless otherwise indicated, were taken from 59.1 [cat. no. 2a]. The observations are as follows:

*a. Bright yellow:* This is the finely ground natural pigment, orpiment, which is arsenic trisulfide,  $As_2S_3$ . *Note:* Orpiment is known as a pigment since Egyptian and Classical times. It was widely used in the Near East. In the writer’s experience, however, this is one of the best examples yet seen of the abundant and lavish use of orpiment (see especially the background of 59.3 [cat. no. 2b]).

*b. Dark green:* It can be seen microscopically that this deep green is orpiment mixed with a stain-like





Fig. 7. *The Priest Settles the Marriage Portion of Shirin with Khusrau*. From the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, circa 1450 or earlier. Freer Gallery of Art.

blue pigment. The blue is probably indigo. *Note*: No single permanent green pigment of this tone was available before modern times. A green prepared by mixing orpiment and indigo is mentioned in the *Abhisitarthacintamani* (12th century) (see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Technical Studies*, III, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, p. 60).

*c. Blue* (in the upper background): It is the mineral pigment azurite, or basic copper carbonate. *Note*: Although two other blue pigments were identified (see below), this is the most extensively used blue on these four paintings. This is interesting, because ultramarine is the blue most frequently encountered in Persian miniatures, and azurite on them is a rarity.

*d. Dark blue* (on 59.2 [fig. 7], in a small area in the floral pattern at the right of the king): This is ultramarine, or powdered lapis lazuli. *Note*: Ultramarine is the familiar dark blue of Persian miniatures. It is peculiar that the use of this precious pigment is restricted to such a small, inconspicuous area.

*e. Pale blue* (on 59.4 [fig. 8] as background for two jars on the right): This is a blue stain, and appears to



Fig. 8. *The Boiling of the Artificial Rice*. From the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, circa 1450 or earlier. Freer Gallery of Art.

be an organic or vegetable dye pigment. Although not precisely identified, it has the color and character of indigo. *Note*: Except where mixed with orpiment to produce dark green, this is the only solid indigo area observed on these four paintings. The use of three different blue pigments points to the diversity of the palette.

*f. Bright red*: This is vermilion, or red mercuric sulfide,  $\text{HgS}$ . The particle size is uneven, and some of the particles are quite coarse, which suggests that the vermilion might be natural in origin from cinnabar.

*g. Orange red* (with brownish overtone): This opaque red was identified as red lead, or minium,  $\text{Pb}_3\text{O}_4$ . The surface of the red lead paint has acquired a deep brown tone, caused by the formation of lead dioxide,  $\text{PbO}_2$ . This darkening of red lead is frequently observed on early Chinese wall-paintings.

*h. Pinkish red* (on tile below right figure): This is a lake, or organic red pigment. With microscopic samples available, it is quite impossible to tell whether it is lac lake, or kermes lake, or perhaps even madder. Perhaps its apparently fair permanence precludes lac lake, which is notoriously fugitive.



i. *Brown*: This is not an earth brown, but seems to be a mixture in which organic red, lamp black, and scattered particles of ultramarine were recognized.

j. *White*: This is chiefly a mixture of the two calcium sulphate minerals, gypsum and anhydrite. *Note*: This use of gypsum inerts seems rather unusual, but, with aqueous medium, it would serve almost as well as the shell white so commonly used in the Far East, and known too in India.

k. *Black*: This is the familiar lamp black.

l. *Flesh tones*: This is a mixture of vermilion with gypsum white. *Note*: This is the first time this writer has observed the use of this particular mixture of red and white pigments for flesh tones.

m. *Gray*: This gray is a mixture of lamp black with some inert white pigment not yet identified. The inert white has properties quite different from gypsum. It gives an X-ray diffraction pattern which does not correspond with the pattern of any white inert in the Freer Gallery Laboratory specimen collection.

n. The paint medium is water soluble. A small paint chip removed from 59.2 gave a strongly positive test for nitrogen, which suggests that animal glue might have been used as the medium. This result must be taken with caution, however, because these pages have been extensively repaired, and in some cases surface coated, hence there is the possibility that the original paint film has been contaminated with more recent nitrogenous adhesives or mediums. *Note*: Coomaraswamy (op. cit., p. 60) mentions the use of buffalo skin glue as the medium for wall-paintings. Animal glue is the traditional paint medium of the Far East. It has long been understood, however, that the traditional medium for Persian and Indian miniatures done on paper supports is gum arabic, or other vegetable gum (see Moti Chandra, *The Technique of Mughal Painting*, Lucknow, 1949, p. 33).

REFERENCES: Ettinghausen, legend for pl. 1; M. Chagatai, *Indian Painting during the Sultanate Period* (Lahore, 1963); Karl J. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting: A Reappraisal* (Bombay, 1969); A. S. Melikian Chirvani, "L'école de Shiraz et les Origines de la Miniature Moghole," in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson (Oxford, 1969), pp. 124-41; Moti Chandra, *Studies in Early Indian Painting* (London, 1974).

## 2a THE TRAITOROUS VIZIER TRIES TO MAKE LOVE TO THE QUEEN

From the *Khamisa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi  
Northern India, circa 1450 or earlier  
11.3 × 20.9 cm. (4½ × 8¼ in.); 34 × 26 cm.  
(13⅜ × 10¼ in.)

Ex-collections: Heeramanek, Demotte  
PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, pl. 1.

59.1

*Illustration, p. 46*

The story is that of the Princess of Saqlah in the *Hasht Bihisht* section of the *Khamisa*.

Such Islamic figural conventions as the three-quarter profile faces and the soft, rounded lines of the silhouettes are evidence of the Near Eastern sources of the style. Yet the strong colors, compartmentalized compositions, and such details as the Indian pots argue for an actual provenance at one of the several Muslim sultanates established throughout northern India. These separate kingdoms frequently patronized painting in a traditional Islamic mode (see References above) and provide a background against which to judge the originality of Hindu-Muslim contacts during the Mughal period.

## 2b MAJNUN LAMENTS THE DEATH OF LAILA

From the *Khamisa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi  
Northern India, circa 1450 or earlier  
11.3 × 20.9 cm. (4½ × 8¼ in.); 34 × 26 cm.  
(13⅜ × 10¼ in.)

Ex-collections: Heeramanek, Demotte  
PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, pl. 1.

59.3

*Illustration, p. 43; colorplate, p. 38*

The love story of Laila and Majnun is one of the oldest and most passionate of Islamic tales, and the earliest of the many known versions dates to the seventh century. It tells of the handsome and beloved Majnun, the son of a Bedouin, who falls in love with the beautiful Laila, but their parents refuse to allow them to meet and Laila is forced to marry. Majnun flees to the desert, living with only wild beasts as companions, and he slowly goes mad. When Laila eventually dies of grief, Majnun laments at her tomb.





Cat. no. 2a

## Additional Dispersed Pages from the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

In addition to the four pages in the Freer Gallery, twenty illustrations are known as follows: Vever Collection (published: A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art* [London, 1938–39], pl. 826A); McGill University (two pages, one published: *ibid.*, pl. 826B); Worcester Art Museum (published: Melikian Chirvani, "L'école de Shiraz et les Origines de la Miniature Moghole," fig. 85); Los Angeles County Museum of Art (published: *Heeramanek*, no. 145); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (unpublished); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (unpublished); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (published: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* [Fall 1978]: p. 34); Seattle Art Museum (unpublished); Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (published: *Handbook of the Collections: Nelson/Atkins Gallery* [Kansas City, 1973], 2: 142); Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd (three pages, two published: Binney Collection, no. 1A–B); *Christie*, July 7, 1976, lot 65, and November 17, 1976, lots 27–28; and four pages in three private collections.

### NOTES

1. See especially B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1958), no. 76 and pl. III.
2. For example, see W. N. Brown, *The Story of Kalaka* (Washington, D.C., 1933), fig. 22.

## Additional Pages from the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi in the Freer Gallery of Art

### *The Priest Settles the Marriage Portion of Shirin with Khusrau*

Northern India, circa 1450 or earlier

11.3 × 21.5 cm. (4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.); 33.3 to 34.3 × 25.8 cm. (13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> to 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Ex-collections: Heeramanek, Demotte 59.2

Figure 7

### *The Boiling of the Artificial Rice*

Northern India, circa 1450 or earlier

9.3 × 20.7 cm. (3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); 32 × 23.6 cm. (12<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

Ex-collections: Heeramanek, Demotte 59.4

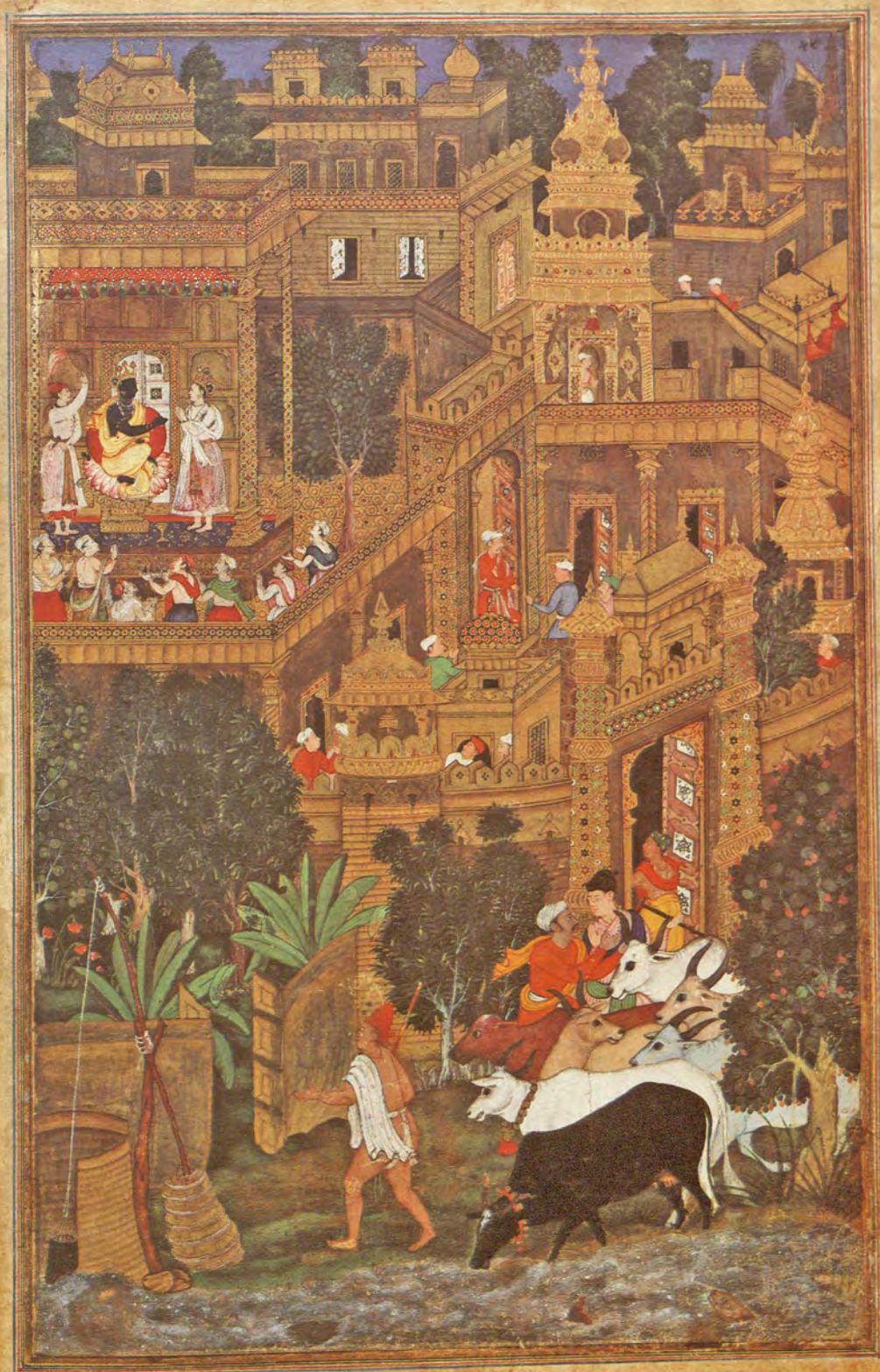
Figure 8

## The *Bhagavata Purana*

The *Bhagavata Purana* (Song of the Lord), possibly first compiled in Sanskrit about 1200 and later translated into regional vernaculars, was the product of a long oral tradition. It is an immense work, comprising 18,000 verses formed into 322 chapters in 11 books. Book ten remains the most popular of these, for it deals with the life of Krishna, the young cowherd and prince who was the god Vishnu incarnate. The descriptions of Krishna's earliest exploits stress his humanity; he is seen as a mischievous and lively child, and as such both children and adults relate to his adventures in the most immediate sense. Krishna—like divinity itself—is simply an aspect of themselves. Occasionally, however, the divine child reveals his true nature when someone carefully looks into his eyes or when he saves his friends from the onslaught of demons, for example.

This particular manuscript of the text is the earliest









Cat. no. 3a

illustrated version presently known, and its best paintings are astonishingly inventive and energetic, lacking the slickness and self-consciousness of such better known, closely related works as in the *Chaur-apanchasika* (see below). It is certainly the most important pre-Mughal Hindu manuscript, and painters trained in this tradition were hired by Akbar soon after his arrival in India.<sup>1</sup>

The style seems simple. Colors are few and basic, and they are applied in flat, unmodulated areas. Forms and gestures are simple, angular, and clear and are set against solid color backgrounds that are chosen for visual, not descriptive, effectiveness. Compositions—as in both Freer pages—are often compartmentalized, although in other illustrations they can be filled with unbounded, turbulent rhythms, and these are the most exciting pages. There is absolutely no individualized character reading in the faces and no interest in a scientific or illusionistic space. The narrative is all important, and consequently the scenes have immediate impact; their strongest effect comes with the first encounter. This was a style that would be transformed radically under the impact of Mughal patronage and influence.

The provenance of the set has not yet been established. There are reasons for believing that the inscribed comparative manuscripts listed below were painted in the Delhi–Agra region. Yet this *Bhagavat* is sufficiently different that another place of origin would be possible. Certainly the continuation and further evolution of the style took place in purest form in southern Rajasthan, especially at the court of Mewar.<sup>2</sup> The inscribed works also give the names of their patrons, and in both cases he was a member

of the prosperous middle class, not a noble or ruling chief. It would thus seem that some Rajput rulers, when they decided to patronize painters, hired and provided steady, guaranteed employment for artists who had earlier worked for the townspeople. The Mughal emperors provided a model and inspiration for the revived institution of patronage, and it is only because the Rajput chiefs were so closely allied culturally to the people they ruled that the evolution of this popular painting into a Rajput court style seems so effortless. Its adoption and transformation at the Mughal court, on the contrary, was a product of conscious effort and a radical change of technique and outlook.<sup>3</sup>

REFERENCES: Karl J. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting: A Reappraisal* (Bombay, 1969); Moti Chandra, *Studies in Early Indian Painting* (London, 1974); Karl J. Khandalavala and Jagdish Mittal, "The *Bhagavata* Mss. from Palam and Isarda: A Consideration in Style," *Lalit Kala* 16: 28–32.

### 3a AKRURA INVITES KRISHNA AND BALARAMA TO MATHURA

From the *Bhagavata Purana*

Probably Delhi–Agra area, early 16th century  
17.4 × 22.8 cm. (6<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9 in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramaneck  
66.32

The pious Akrura had been persuaded by Krishna's demonic uncle, Kansa, to invite the cowherd and his brother Balarama to take part in a great sports competition at Mathura. The boys trusted Akrura and accepted, but Kansa had arranged for superhuman wrestlers and intoxicated elephants, among others, to participate, thereby guaranteeing their death. Krishna was, after all, the embodiment of good and a continual threat to Kansa's existence, but the demon's plan failed.

The text passage (x.38: 38–39) illustrated seems to be as follows:

After enquiring about his journey and offering him a high seat, Balarama washed his feet with due formality and offered him articles of *Madhuparka* (such as honey, ghee, curds, water).

Having presented a cow to the guest and after massaging him as he was fatigued, the powerful Lord served to him with reverence, preparation of pure food with a variety of excellences.<sup>4</sup>

This page is a rather simple, undetailed evocation of Akrura's conversations with Krishna and his family. Other illustrations are far more closely tied to the text. On several folios, a word that might be read as *Harivamsa* has been written (here it is at the upper



right), and the suggestion has been made that these illustrations relate to that text (an earlier recounting of Krishna's life) rather than to the *Bhagavata Purana*. As the list of dispersed pages indicates, however, a number of illustrations show episodes not included in the *Harivamsa*, so the meaning of that inscription is uncertain.

### 3b THE SLEEPING SHATRAJIT MURDERED BY SATADHANVA

From the *Bhagavata Purana*

Probably Delhi-Agra area, early 16th century

17.6 × 23.1 cm. (6 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramanek

66.31

*Detail, p. 14; colorplate, p. 35*

The incident centers on the possession of a brilliant jewel, named Syamantaka. The sun-god presented it to Shatrajit, who gave it to his brother Prasena for safekeeping. Prasena promptly strung it around his neck and went out riding in the jungle, where he was attacked and killed by a lion. The beast seized Syamantaka and ran off, only to be slain by Jambhavat, king of the bears. After a battle of twenty-one days, which took place deep in Jambhavat's cave, Krishna rescued the stone and returned it to Shatrajit, who was promptly murdered by Satadhanva. After giving the jewel to Akrura, Satadhanva was killed by Krishna. Syamantaka, "resplendent like the sun," helped those who were good and pious but harmed the wicked, so Krishna allowed Akrura to keep it; he alone had benefited from its possession.

The related text passage (x.57: 5–8) relates of Satadhanva:

His mind being thus thoroughly perverted and prejudiced, the wicked-most, sinful fellow with his span of life diminished (and was about to be terminated soon), murdered Satrajit out of greed, while he was asleep. While the women (in the family) were screaming and wailing loudly and helplessly, he, like a butcher knifing a beast, finished with Satrajit and absconded, taking with him the gem Syamantaka.

Beholding her father thus slain, Satyawat was stricken with grief and bewailed, "O father! father I am undone." And she fainted.

Depositing that dead body in a trough full of oil (to prevent its decomposition), she rushed to Hastinapura. Tormented as she was, she reported the matter of her father's assassination to Krishna who (being omniscient) already knew the facts (of the case).<sup>5</sup>

The three illustrations to the Syamantaka story in this set are all placed in settings surrounded by water, although there seems to be no justification for this in the standard *Bhagavata Purana* text. It has been



Cat. no. 3b

suggested that the legends of the Syamantaka jewel developed around what later came to be known as the Koh-i-nur diamond.<sup>6</sup>

#### Additional Dispersed Pages from the *Bhagavata Purana*

This extensively illustrated group, which may represent more than one series, has been identified, but as no thorough examination of the related texts has been made these attributions should be regarded as tentative. All are from book ten; references here list chapter and verse of that volume. For a basic text, see Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, *The Bhagavata Purana*, pt. 4 (Delhi, 1978).

- 3: 48–49     *The Birth of Krishna*  
Art Institute of Chicago  
PUBLISHED: *Persian and Indian Miniatures from the Collection of Everett and Ann McNear* (Art Institute of Chicago, 1974), no. 64.
- 7: 4–17     *Krishna after the Ordeal with Saktasura*  
Formijne Collection, Amsterdam  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 7, 1975, lot 134.
- 8: 29     *Krishna and the Monkeys Smash the Curd Jar*  
Virginia Museum, Richmond  
PUBLISHED: *Arts in Virginia* (Fall 1970): 13.





Cat. no. 7 recto



- 8: 30 *Krishna the Butter Thief*  
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares  
PUBLISHED: *Chhavi* 1: end  
colorplate.
- 11: 34 *Krishna and Balarama Driving to  
Brindaban*  
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares  
PUBLISHED: *Chhavi* I (colorplate  
after fig. 594); K. J. Khandalavala and  
Moti Chandra, *New Documents of  
Indian Painting*, fig. 199.
- 11: 41–45 *Krishna Defeats a Calf Demon*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection
- 11: 47–53 *Krishna Defeats Bakasura*  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
- 12: 8–11 *Krishna, Balarama, and the Cowherds*  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
- 12: 26–32 *Krishna and the Demon Aghasura*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: *Rajput Miniatures from  
the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*  
(Portland Art Museum, 1968), no.  
1b.
- 13: 4–12 *Brahma Hides the Cowherds*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection
- 14: 42–43 *The Cattle and Cowherds Leave the  
Cave*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: *Rajput Miniatures*, no.  
1a.
- 15: 2 (?) *Krishna Fluting*  
Jagdish Mittal Collection
- 16: 6–10 *Krishna and the Kaliya Naga*  
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon  
Douglas 3d  
PUBLISHED: F. Hutchens, *Young  
Krishna* (West Franklin, N.Y., 1980),  
no. 12.
- 18: 24–25 *Pralambha Carries Off Balarama*  
Private collection  
PUBLISHED: *Colnaghi* 1978, no. 46.
- 18: 29 *Balarama Defeats Pralambha*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection
- 27: 22–23 *Krishna Crowned by Indra*  
Private collection  
PUBLISHED: Welch and Beach,  
*Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, no. 3b;  
Hutchens, *Young Krishna*, no. 18.
- 34: 1–9 *Nanda and the Boa Constrictor*  
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares  
PUBLISHED: Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-  
nama*, fig. 78.
- 36: 16–18 *Kansa Interviews Narada*  
Collection of John Bransten  
PUBLISHED: *Indian Miniature  
Paintings from West Coast Private  
Collections* (M. H. de Young  
Memorial Museum, San Francisco,  
1964), pl. XII.
- 37: 28–33 *Krishna Attacks Vyomasura*  
National Museum of India, New  
Delhi
- 41: 43–50 *Krishna at the House of Sudaman the  
Florist (?)*  
Kanoria Collection
- 42: 35–38 *Kansa with Contestants before the  
Athletic Match (?)*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, December 11,  
1973, lot 253.
- 43: 8–9 *Krishna Fighting Kuvalayapida*  
Tandon Collection, Secunderabad  
PUBLISHED: Hutchens, *Young  
Krishna*, no. 27.
- 45: 12 *Coronation of Ugrasena*  
Collection of Paul F. Walter  
PUBLISHED: P. Pal, *The Classical  
Tradition in Rajput Painting* (New  
York, 1978), no. 2.
- 48: 1–4 *Krishna with Kubja the Hunchback*  
Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh
- 53: 44–57 *The Abduction of Rukmini*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, April 8, 1975,  
lot 110.
- 56: 10–13 *Prasena Goes Hunting with the Jewel  
Syamantaka*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, December 10,  
1974, lot 195.
- 56: 38 *Krishna Presents Syamantaka to  
Satrajit*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Indian Miniature  
Painting* (Doris Wiener Gallery, New  
York, 1974), no. 35.
- 58: 13–16 *Arjuna and Krishna Hunting*  
Temple Art Collection, New York  
PUBLISHED: Hutchens, *Young  
Krishna*, no. 15.
- 59: 2–5 *Krishna before the Walls of Narakasura*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: *Rajput Miniatures*, no.  
1c.







- 59: 15 *The Attack on Narakasura*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection
- 59: 39 *The Theft of the Parijata Tree*  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art  
PUBLISHED: *Heeramanek*, no. 146a.
- 61: 36 *Balarama Slays Rukmin*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 13, 1971,  
lot 183.
- 63: 6 *Shiva Defends Banasura*  
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares  
PUBLISHED: Moti Chandra, *Studies*  
*in Early Indian Painting*, fig. 67.
- 63: 10-16 *Krishna Fights Banasura*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, December 10,  
1974, lot 194.
- 63: 20-21 *Krishna Encounters Kotara*  
Private collection  
PUBLISHED: *Welch FEM*, no. 6a.
- 63: 46-53 *Aniruddha and Usha Leave Banasura*  
Seattle Art Museum  
PUBLISHED: *Miniature Paintings*  
*and Small Sculptures from India*  
(University Gallery, University of  
Florida, 1966), no. 31a.
- 65: 23 *Balarama Moving the Jumna River*  
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares  
PUBLISHED: K. J. Khandalavala and  
Moti Chandra, *New Documents in*  
*Indian Painting*, fig. 200; Moti  
Chandra, *Studies in Early Indian*  
*Painting*, fig. 68.
- 71: 16 *Procession of Krishna's Attendants*  
Formerly Doris Wiener Gallery, New  
York
- 72: 44-46 *Bhima Slays Jarasandha*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Colnaghi* 1978, no. 47.
- 86: 3-12 *Marriage of Arjuna and Subhadra (?)*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection

Text references for the pages listed below have not  
been located. When specific titles are given, they have  
been supplied by the cited publication.

*Battle Scene*  
Goenka Collection

*Battle Scene*  
Private collection

PUBLISHED: *Welch and Beach*,  
*Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, no. 3a.

*Battle Scene*  
Seattle Art Museum

*Brahma, Shiva, Indra, and a Gopa Ask*  
*the Unseen Vishnu to Manifest Himself*  
Chronos Collection

PUBLISHED: *Hutchens, Young*  
*Krishna*, no. 2.

*Cattle at Brindaban*  
Collection of James Ivory  
PUBLISHED: *Welch FEM*, no. 6b.

*Cowherds by the Jumna*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection

*The Cowherds Return Home*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection  
*Gopis Admire the Baby Krishna*  
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon  
Douglas 3d

PUBLISHED: *Hutchens, Young*  
*Krishna*, no. 6.

*Homage to Krishna*  
Formerly Doris Wiener Gallery

*King Parikshit and the Rishis (?)*  
Cleveland Museum of Art

PUBLISHED: *Sherman E. Lee*,  
*Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960),  
no. 3a.

*Krishna and Balarama before a Ritual*  
*Bath*  
Kanoria Collection

*Krishna and Balarama in a Carriage*  
Private collection

*Krishna and Balarama in the Jungle*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd

PUBLISHED: *Walter Spink*,  
*Krishnamandala* (Ann Arbor, 1971),  
fig. 23.

*Krishna and Balarama Sport with the*  
*Cowherds*  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

*Krishna and Balarama with Cattle*  
Private collection

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, April 4, 1978,  
lot 317.

*Krishna and Balarama with a*  
*Charioteer*  
Formerly Doris Wiener Gallery

*Krishna and Rama before a Ritual Bath*  
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

PUBLISHED: *M. C. Beach*,  
*Reflections of India: Paintings from the*  
*16th to the 19th Centuries* (Toronto,  
1979), no. 1.



که میان ابد و او کارزار و شد و بود برافزار و موب ظفر و او بفرزیدی بجار کی نایاب شد و شجرب رهای آن گروه نجات  
 کزین گشت و او در خندق بفرست و مراد و التمس و غول عساکر منصور شد و از سکوا قتل شانس آنرا فریب نبرد



شمارگان روان آبگاشد در سنگ لاج پیدل حرت داشت که این فوج بترک نمر و یک شدن سپاس دل  
 بر آرمی نهاد و بدشت او بارشما بان گشت و ستمک سترقه در حیت او اقا دو مقارن اسجال خبر فرود شدن کوچه  
 ع ۳۴ عم

Cat. no. 12d



*Krishna Asks Ugrasena about Seeking Rukmini (?)*

Bickford Collection

PUBLISHED: *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection* (Cleveland, 1975), no. 59.

*Krishna Reclining with Female Attendants*

Denver Art Museum

PUBLISHED: *Denver Art Museum: Guide to the Collections* (Denver, 1971), p. 174.

*Krishna Refuses the Crown of Mathura (?)*

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, December 7, 1972, lot 82.

*Nanda Bids Farewell to Krishna and Balarama (?)*

National Museum of India, New Delhi

PUBLISHED: K. J. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, pl. 21.

## Comparative Manuscripts

Among the extensive quantity of pre-Mughal and related Hindu manuscripts now known, the following—especially the first four—most directly relate to this *Bhagavata Purana*. They are also discussed and reproduced as a group in the works earlier listed in References, see page 48.

### *Aranyaka Parvan*

The Asiatic Society, Bombay

Inscribed with the date 1516 and the provenance of Kachchhauva, which has been equated with Kachchhauva, fifty-seven miles from Agra.

PUBLISHED: Karl J. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *An Illustrated Aranyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (Bombay, 1974).

### *Bhagavata Purana*

Mid-16th century

Dispersed; formerly Isarda Thikana Collection

PUBLISHED: Khandalavala and Mittal, "*Bhagavata Mss.*"

### *Bhagavata Purana*

Late 16th century

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: Ratan Parimoo, "A New Set of Early Rajasthani Paintings," *Lalit Kala* 17: 9–13.

### *Chaurapanchasika*

Early 16th century

N. C. Mehta Collection, Culture Centre, Ahmadabad

PUBLISHED: Lila Shiveswarkar, *The Pictures of the Chaurapanchasika* (New Delhi, 1967).

### *Devi-Mahatmya*

Early 16th century

State Museum, Simla

Publications of this recently discovered manuscript are planned by both B. N. Goswamy and Catherine Glynn. If its provenance is the Punjab, as proposed, this would indicate that the general style was widespread.

### *Gita Govinda*

Early 16th century

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

PUBLISHED: Karl J. Khandalavala, "A 'Gita Govinda' Series," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India* 4 (1953–54).

### *Laur-Chanda*

Early 16th century

Chandigarh Museum and Punjab Museum, Lahore

### *Mahapurana*

Sri Digambar Jain Atisaya Kshetra, Jaipur

Inscribed with the date 1540 and the provenance of Palamva, which is thought to be Palam, south of Delhi.

### *Mrgavati*

Early 16th century

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

PUBLISHED: Karl J. Khandalavala, "The Mrigavat of the Bharat Kala Bhavan," *Chhavi* 1: 19–36.

### *Ragamala*

Early 16th century

Muni Vijayayendra Suri Collection

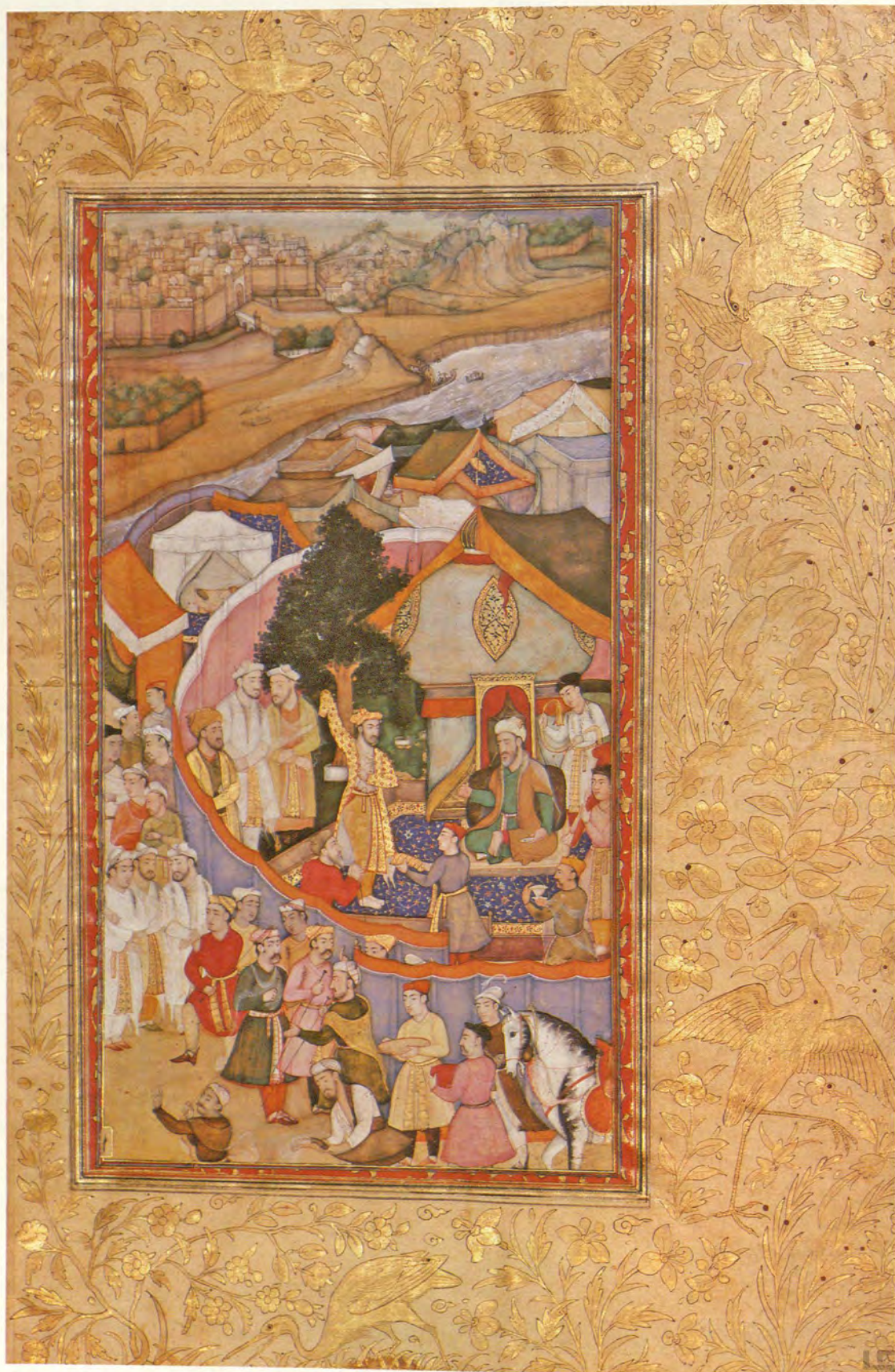
## NOTES

1. For the best discussion of this period, see Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*.
2. For a general discussion of this development, see M. C. Beach, "The Context of Rajput Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 11–18.
3. See note 1 above.
4. Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, *The Bhagavata Purana*, pt. 4 (Delhi, 1978), p. 1490.
5. *Ibid.*, 4: 1614–15.
6. Francis Watson, "Mountain of Light: The Koh-i-Noor Diamond in Indian History," *History Today* (March 1977): 183–89.

## The Haft Aurang of Jami

The *Haft Aurang* (Seven Thrones) is among the greatest of Safavid Iranian manuscripts and was made between 1556 and 1565 for Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, a nephew of Shah Tahmasp. It is thus contemporary with the beginnings of Mughal painting and with the





Cat. no. 12e



initiation of the *Hamza-nama* manuscript. The highly, even overly, refined aesthetic sensibility and technical expertise found in this work were not sustained when painters (such as Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd as-Samad) trained in this tradition moved to India. Akbar's taste was far too vigorous and the pigments then available in India too rough. This is, however, a manuscript on which both Persian masters would almost certainly have worked had they stayed in Iran, and it thus provides us with a superb basis for understanding Mughal innovations within Islamic traditions.

The manuscript has been published in full by Stuart Cary Welch and will be further considered in a forthcoming publication by that author and Martin Dickson.

REFERENCES: Stuart Cary Welch, *Persian Painting* (New York, 1976), pp. 23–27 and pls. 34–48; Stuart Cary Welch and Martin Dickson, *The Houghton Shah-nama* (forthcoming).

#### 4 YUSUF ENTERTAINED AT COURT BEFORE HIS MARRIAGE TO ZULAYKA

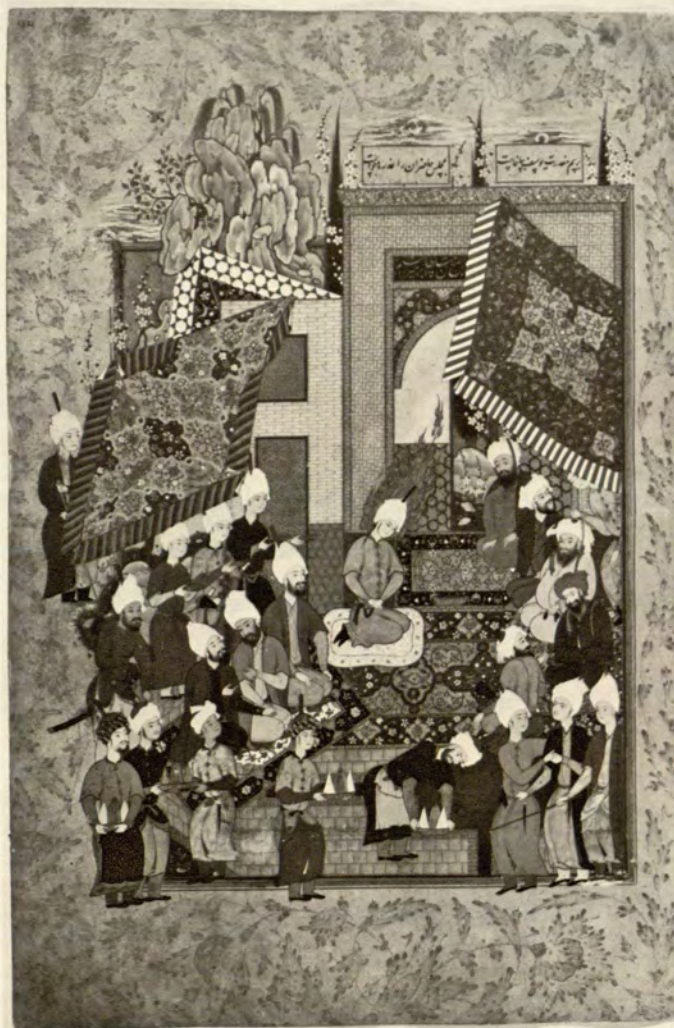
From the *Haft Aurang* of Jami  
Attributed to Shaykh Muhammad  
Meshhed, Iran, dated 1556–65  
34.2 × 23.2 cm. (13½ × 9⅞ in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: Welch, *Persian Painting*, pl. 41.  
46.12

See also illustrations, pp. 14, 21

The saintly and ascetic Yusuf had proven his purity by resisting the advances of the beautiful Zulayka but was eventually ordered by God to marry her. Stuart Cary Welch has described this composition as virtually a contemporary scene at the patron's court at Meshhed.



Cat. no. 4



## The *Hamza-nama*

In July 1564, Akbar went to capture elephants in the forests of Narwar, near Gwalior, and was immensely excited to find a herd of more than seventy. He immediately decided to stay there for the night; as the *Akbar-nama* tells us, "The chamberlains by the help of the court carpenters made a platform for the royal repose and covered it with scarlet cloth." The next morning

when the world warming sun had sate on the throne of the horizons, H.M. the Shahinshah with the desired prey in his net and the cup of success at his lip sate on that auspicious throne and graciously ordered his courtiers to be seated. Then for the sake of delight and pleasure he listened for some time to Darbar Khan's recital of the story of Amir Hamza.<sup>1</sup>

These tales of wild and fantastic adventures are known to us as the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza*, the *Qissa-i-Amir Hamza*, or more usually the *Hamza-nama*, and the young Akbar's enthusiasm for the stories must be seen as a clue to his personality. Babur, his grandfather, for example, had made a rather derogatory reference to the work in his memoirs. Discussing his chief justices, he wrote:

One was Mir Sar-i-barahna (Bare-head); he was from a village in Andijan and appears to have made claim to be a sayyid. He was a very agreeable companion, pleasant of temper and speech. His were the judgement and rulings that carried weight among men of letters and poets of Khurasan. He wasted his time by composing, in imitation of the story of Amir Hamza, a work which is one long, far-fetched lie, opposed to sense and nature.<sup>2</sup>

The *Hamza-nama* is a mélange of fact, folk tales, and fantasy. The heroic Hamza seeks to spread Islam throughout the world, and this takes him to Ceylon, Byzantium, Egypt, and the Caucasus. He falls in love with Mihrnagar, the daughter of the Iranian king, his greatest foe, and marries both her (she is eventually slain) and a peri or spirit. Murders, kidnappings, imprisonments, and escapes follow in rapid succession, interspersed with battles against Iraq, the king of the fire worshippers, and Zumurrad Shah, a gigantic sorcerer. Together with his friend Amr and his converted foe Landaher, Hamza defeats the Iranians and vanquishes all his enemies.

The date of the execution of this illustrated *Hamza-nama* is controversial, and as the question has been

thoroughly discussed in a recent publication, we are tentatively accepting here the proposed date of 1562–77.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript originally numbered 1,400 illustrations, although only about 150 are presently known.<sup>4</sup> These are overwhelmingly from books ten and eleven. Most known pages came into Europe from Tehran and were probably taken there as booty during Iranian raids on the Mughal empire after 1739. The major concentration of pages is in the Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna; these sixty folios were purchased in 1873 from the Persian Pavilion of the Vienna World's Fair. The other large group of twenty-seven illustrations is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. One of these was purchased in Tehran in 1876, and twenty-four were found in 1881 in a wooden house on the Hawa Kadal Bridge in Srinagar, Kashmir, where they were tacked over windows to serve as protection from the weather. An additional two pages were found in Srinagar in 1913.<sup>5</sup> The majority of folios in American collections came from a group of twenty-six purchased by General Riza Khan Monif in 1912 from a sister of the then shah of Iran, and the remaining works have surfaced less adventurously and usually individually. Several of the pages had faces rubbed out by Muslim iconoclasts and were repainted in the nineteenth century.

Because so few of the pages have survived, it is difficult to be sure of the overall character of the manuscript or of any chronological evolution of style. The *Maathir-ul-Umara*, however, states that "Each folio contained two pictures and at the front of each picture there was a description delightfully written by Khwaja Ata Ullah Munshi of Qazwin,"<sup>6</sup> while the *Tarikh-i-Akbari* asserts that the illustrations were painted on paper and backed with cloth.<sup>7</sup> Neither of these statements is true of the vast majority of the pages known to us, for most have illustrations painted directly on the cloth on one side only, with text confined to the reverse. But of the fifteen folios identifiable as belonging to the first four books of the narrative, ten combine illustration and text on the same folio side, and two of these are double sided. The references quoted, therefore, seem to reveal the initial, intended format for the manuscript. Several of these earliest pages, as well, are in a style that can only be termed provincial Iranian, and they show little originality of conception. Mir Ala-al-Daula Qazwini wrote in the *Nafa'is al-Maathir*, a contemporary history, that under Mir Sayyid Ali's direction the first four books of the project were completed, but that it took him seven years. At the end of this time he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and:

The task of preparing the afore-mentioned book has been assigned to the matchless master Khwaja Abd al-Samad, the painter from Shiraz; the Khwaja has



greatly endeavoured to bring the work to completion and has also notably reduced the expenditure.<sup>8</sup>

The remaining ten books were completed in another seven years, suggesting that not only was Abd as-Samad more efficient, but that the most vital and original paintings were largely made under his direction.

Beyond this, however, it is presently difficult to determine a chronology, which requires much needed study to isolate artistic personalities and relate the illustrations to the text. The *Tarikh-i-Akbari* says that 100 painters, illuminators, and gilders, and other craftsmen were involved in the work, while the *Nafa'is al-Maathir* notes specifically thirty painters.<sup>9</sup> If correct, this would average about three illustrations per artist each year, which seems reasonable. Some pages, however, are clearly the joint effort of two or more painters.

As we have noted, the project was supervised first by the elderly Iranian master Mir Sayyid Ali and then by his younger compatriot Abd as-Samad, and Akbar's memoirs list them as the greatest painters in the royal studios (see page 24). No *Hamza-nama* pages seem attributable to either artist, however, and the overall style of the book is far more inventive than other works known by either master (cat. no. 16d). Their position, therefore, may have been largely ceremonial or administrative. Following these prestigious Iranian émigrés in rank were two Indian artists, Daswanth and Basawan. Daswanth cannot yet be properly studied, for his major identified works are illustrations that he designed but which other, lesser artists executed. His work seems to stress the emotional, irrational, and visionary, shown through unanticipated shifts of scale, for example, or by especially complicated radiating rhythms.<sup>10</sup> Basawan, on the other hand, was a rationalist, and after Daswanth's death by suicide in 1584, his style came to dominate the imperial studios. Daswanth, during his lifetime, was the greatest of Akbar's Indian painters—as revealed by Akbar's memoirs, which lists artists hierarchically. It is unthinkable, therefore, that he would not have worked on the *Hamza-nama*, especially as earlier illustrations are found in the Cleveland Museum *Tuti-nama* manuscript.<sup>11</sup> It would seem that many of the wildest later *Hamza-nama* paintings can be credited to the authorship or inspiration of Daswanth, who was a student of Abd as-Samad. Pages by Basawan have already been identified,<sup>12</sup> and the Freer illustrations represent the calmer aspects of the work.

REFERENCES: C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings: Twelve Paintings of the School of Humayun* (London, 1921); Stewart Culin, "Illustrations of the Romance of Amir Hamzah," *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* (October 1924): 138–43; Helen Comstock, "The Romance of Amir Hamzah," *International Studio* 80 (1925): 348–57; Heinrich Gluck, *Die indischen*

*Miniaturen des Hamza-Romanes im Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien und in anderen Sammlungen* (Leipzig, 1925); Heinrich Goetz, "An Illustration from the Hamza-nama, the Earliest Mughal Manuscript," *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum* 2: 31–34; Maurice Dimand, "Several Illustrations from the Dastan-i-Amir Hamza in American Collections," *Artibus Asiae* 11 (1948): 5–13; Wilhelm Staude, "Les artistes de la cour d'Akbar et les illustrations de Dastan I-Amir Hamzah," *Arts Asiatiques* 2 (1955): 47–65, 83–111; Karl J. Khandalavala and Jagdish Mittal, "An Early Akbari Illustrated Manuscript of Tilasm and Zodiac," *Lalit Kala* 14: 9–20; Gerhart Egger, *Der Hamza Roman* (Vienna, 1969); Anand Krishna, "Reassessment of the *Tuti-nama* Illustrations in the Cleveland Museum of Art (and Related Problems on Earliest Mughal Paintings and Painters)," *Artibus Asiae* 35 (1973): 241–68; Gerhart Egger, *Hamza-nama*, vol. 1 (Graz, 1974); Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*.

## 5a SAÏD ARRIVES WITH KHUSH KHURRAM ON THE ROOF OF THE CASTLE AND SEES TWO GIRLS WRESTLING

From the *Hamza-nama*

Circa 1562–77

67.6 × 51.3 cm. (26⅞ × 20¼ in.), on cloth

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

60.14

### *Illustration, p. 61*

Saïd, the leader of Hamza's armies, once so astonished his foes—he picked up an elephant—that they embraced Islam. He was the beloved of Malak-mah, who had seen him one night when she came to his camp disguised as a man. When Saïd was captured by enemies and imprisoned, Malak-mah decapitated his guard but was herself abducted by a sorceress. Saïd, once free, rode for a whole day and then stopped to rest under a tree. He heard an unexpected voice, looked up, and saw Khush Khurram high in the branches. She explained that she had herself just escaped from a troop of black bandits. Saïd suggested that they travel together; they went to the coast, boarded a ship, sailed to the base of a mountain, disembarked, and were promptly attacked by a tiger. They killed the beast and rode off on an unfamiliar path, at the end of which was a partially open entrance, which they entered. Buildings and pavilions surrounded them, and when they wandered through one of the castles, they suddenly came upon two girls wrestling. One was Malak-mah, who, seeing Saïd, felt faint. They related to each other their adventures.

This typically lively episode comes from the end of book eleven. The illustrations for each volume are numbered separately in Persian script from 1 to 100 (although many numbers are no longer visible). This is illustration 78; both 77 and 79 are in Vienna (see Egger, *Der Hamza Roman*, V. 48 and 49).





Cat. no. 13









بشتنای تمام بخورد و بعد از شتران تمام خوش بوی و افزاید و اندک تا بر سپهر بین خود  
 مالید و او را در بغل خود گرفته پسینه خود را پسینه او مالیدند و چو دانسته بودند که در کنگ  
 پیر کاه است و قبل از آن هرگز روی زنی بچانه و آتش نشاندیدند که پرسیدند که پدرش میاید  
 و برایشان دعای بد کند یا بران وقت تمام از انجام آفت مبتال شود که در آن وقت که در آن وقت





Cat. no. 15h





Cat. no. 5c



5b AEMR, DISGUISED AS THE  
SURGEON MIZZMUHIL,  
ARRIVES BEFORE THE FORT  
AT ANTALYA

From the *Hamza-nama*  
Attributed here to Mahesh  
Circa 1562–77

67.3 × 51.2 cm. (26½ × 20¾ in.), on cloth

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

60.15

*Illustration, p. 21; detail, p. 87; colorplate, p. 40*

Several of Hamza's followers were abducted by magicians, and Aemr, the hero's closest friend, concocted a plan to enter their citadel-prison at Antalya. He went to the walls of the fort and talked to the leader of a mule caravan, a man named Mizzmuhil, who was just returning to his home after an absence of three years. After gaining his confidence, Aemr offered him an apple, saying that he too was from Antalya and had gone out to find some fruit. The apple was drugged, and when the man was unconscious, Aemr took his clothes and appearance, while his companion Yakdam acted as his groom. Meanwhile, other friends rented a mule, loaded it with fruit, and passed into the fortress as merchants. The prisoners were rescued, and the great Zumurrad Shah, leader of the magicians, was routed.

This is illustration number 83 from book eleven; number 82 is in Vienna, while 84 is in the Brooklyn Museum (24.29; see *Welch AMI*, no. 2b). Both 83 and 84 are attributable to Mahesh, a painter whose work seems particularly influential for the *Hamza-nama* manuscript; he is discussed on pages 85, 87, 89.

5c ZARDHANK KHATNI  
BRINGS THE KEY TO  
MALTAS, THE PRISON  
KEEPER

From the *Hamza-nama*  
Circa 1562–77

67.1 × 51.2 cm. (26¼ × 20⅞ in.), on cloth

Ex-collection: Brooklyn Museum (purchased from Riza Khan Monif)

PUBLISHED: *Ettinghausen*, pl. 2.

49.18

*Detail, p. 22*

This episode may also have come from book eleven. The page is from the group of nine illustrations bought from Riza Khan Monif by the Brooklyn Museum, five of which were subsequently sold. Three of the other four are now in the Art Institute of Chicago, Cincinnati Museum of Art, and Philadelphia

Museum of Art; the present location of one page, formerly in the S. Minkenhof Collection, is unknown.

Additional Dispersed Pages from the *Hamza-nama*

In 1925 in his mammoth study of the *Hamza-nama*, Heinrich Gluck listed the then-known illustrations in sequence by volume and page (Gluck, *Die indischen Miniaturen*, p. 155). Ernst Grube more recently published an enormously useful list by collection of the 137 dispersed pages known to him, giving thorough bibliographic and reproduction references (Grube, *Islamic Paintings*, pp. 252–57).<sup>13</sup> The following pages can be added to this latter group (text locations are given when known):

*Alam Shah Closing the Dam at Shishan Pass*, book 11: 46

Bickford Collection

PUBLISHED: *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection* (Cleveland, 1975), no. 45.

*An Elephant Attacks the Fortress*

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

PUBLISHED: *Marg* 11: 3 (cover).

*Hamza Cutting the Arm of the Byzantine Princess with a Dagger*

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 17, 1978, lot 73.

*Hamza Enters a City Bazaar*

Keir Collection

PUBLISHED: *Robinson, ed., Keir*, V.3, pl. 108.

*Hamza Escapes from Imprisonment in the Caucasus with the Queen of the Fairies*, book 4

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Colnaghi* 1978, no. 11.

*Hamza Rescued from a Pit*, book 4

Keir Collection

PUBLISHED: *Robinson, ed., Keir*, V.2, colorplate 30.

*The King of Kalud Receiving a Prisoner*

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 17, 1978, lot. 74.

*The Queen of the Fairies Surveys the Battle*, book 4

Fondation Custodia, Paris











1. *Akbar-nama*, 2: 343–44.
2. *Babur-nama*, p. 280.
3. Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, pp. 62–72.
4. Contemporary texts disagree about the original size of the *Hamza-nama*. Badaoni states that there were seventeen volumes (*Badaoni*, p. 329), while Abu'l Fazl describes twelve volumes with 1,400 illustrations. Both the *Nafa'is al-Ma'asir* and the *Maathir-ul-Umara* say that the manuscript was in twelve volumes, each with 100 folios (Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 180; and *Maathir-ul-Umara*, 1: 454). From extant evidence (cited in Gluck, *Die indischen Miniaturen*, p. 155) and confirmed by existing pages, there were fourteen volumes, each with pages numbered in Persian script from 1 to 100.
5. C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings: Twelve Paintings of the School of Humayun* (London, 1921).
6. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, 2: 454.
7. Karl J. Khandalavala and Jagdish Mittal, "An Early Akbari Illustrated Manuscript of Tilasm and Zodiac," *Lalit Kala* 14: 12.
8. Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 181.
9. Khandalavala and Mittal, "An Early Akbari Illustrated Manuscript," p. 12.
10. E.g., Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought*, fig 13.
11. These are discussed in Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 181.
12. M. C. Beach, "A European Source for Early Mughal Painting," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 1 (1976): 186–87.
13. Corrected information about current collections can be added to the following Grube numbers: no. 2, collection of Ralph Benkaim, Los Angeles; no. 3, private collection, London; no. 4, collection of Ralph Benkaim; no. 6, Seattle Art Museum; no. 7, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; no. 32, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; no. 33 is the same page as that listed by Grube as no. 21; no. 62, collection of Ralph Benkaim.

## The *Harivamsa*

The contemporary historian Abdu'l Qadir ibn-i-Muluk Shah, al-Badaoni, was constantly appalled at Akbar's lapse from orthodoxy. He wrote in disgust:

at one time a Brahman, named Debi, who was one of the interpreters of the *Mahabharata*, was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a charpai [a simple wooden bed] till he arrived near a balcony, which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism. . . . His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, began to look upon them with affection.<sup>1</sup>

The emperor eventually had translations made of major Hindu texts, one of which was this great Sanskrit epic *Mahabharata*, known in its new Persian

form as *Razm-nama* (Book of Wars). Badaoni continues:

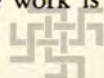
he became much interested in the work, and having assembled some learned Hindus, he gave them directions to write an explanation of the *Mahabharata*, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqib Khan, so that the Khan might sketch out the gist of it in Persian. On the third night, the Emperor sent for me, and desired me to translate the *Mahabharata*, in conjunction with Naqib Khan. The consequence was that in three or four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations might well be amazed.

After this Mulla Sheri and Naqib Khan together accomplished a portion, and another was completed by Sultan Haji of Thanessar by himself. Shaikh Faizi was then directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections. The Haji aforesaid revised these two sections, and as for the omissions which had taken place in his first edition, those defects he put right.<sup>2</sup>

Badaoni, despite his bigotry, provides us with useful information about the names of the translators and the procedure of having several men make a direct translation, which would later be polished and unified by a master poet. This is a method used as well for the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* and the early portions of the *Akbar-nama*. From other sources, we learn that the *Razm-nama* project began in 1582, and the text was completed in 1584; and dates found by Robert Skelton on several of the illustrations reveal that the later paintings were still being made in 1585 and perhaps as late as 1586.<sup>3</sup> According to marginal inscriptions, a major artist of the manuscript was Daswanth. He designed 30 of the first 125 (of a total of 176) illustrations; and as he died in 1584, it is obvious that paintings were being executed as the translation was progressing. Once the work was finished, Akbar ordered the chief nobles to make copies:

when fairly engrossed, and embellished with pictures, the Amirs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God.<sup>4</sup>

The last seventeen of the illustrations made for Akbar's volume of the work, which is now reported to be in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, relate to a later addition to the original text, a section known as the *Harivamsa*. A geneology of Vishnu, it was written to give further details of the life of Krishna, whose cult developed intensity after the main body of the *Mahabharata* was first transcribed from oral traditions. The present manuscript is a second copy of this *Harivamsa* section. About twenty-eight pages are now known from the volume, which must have been extensive; the list of episodes and text references given below suggests that a large portion of the work is missing.

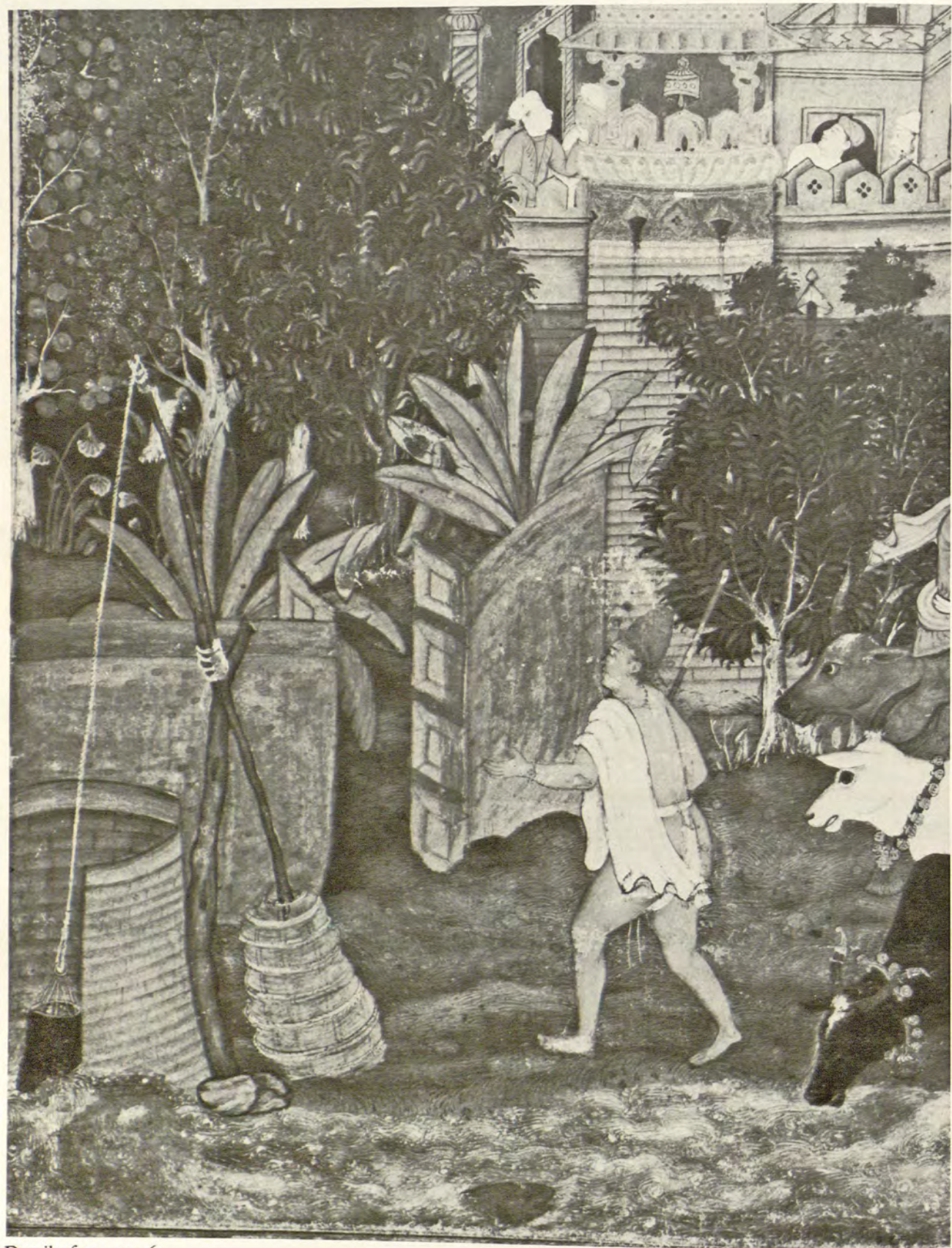






Cat. no. 16c





Detail of cat. no. 6



In the *A'in-i-Akbari*, Abu'l Fazl wrote:

The Mahabharat which belongs to the ancient books of Hindustan has likewise been translated, from Hindi into Persian. . . . The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses: His Majesty calls this ancient history *Razmnama*, the book of Wars.<sup>5</sup>

But slightly later he adds: "The Haribas [*Harivamsa*], a book containing the life of Krishna, was translated into Persian by Mawlana Sheri."<sup>6</sup> This is important, for it is wrong to see this *Harivamsa* simply as a second copy of a portion of the *Razm-nama*, as has been proposed. It was, instead, a quite different project. It would also seem that a date of circa 1585 is more reasonable than the usual designation of circa 1590, for several pages are in a notably archaic style.<sup>7</sup> It seems that illustrated imperial copies of major new texts were most frequently prepared as the texts were being written, and the *Harivamsa* translation was finished by February 1586, when Mulla (or Maulana) Sheri was killed during an Afghan attack in the mountains of Kashmir.

REFERENCES: T. H. Hendley, *Memoirs of the Jeypore Exhibition 1883*, vol. 4, *The Razm-nama Ms.* (Jaipur, 1884); Robert Skelton, "Mughal Paintings from Harivamsa Manuscript," *Yearbook of the Victoria and Albert Museum* 2: 41–54; P. Banerjee, *The Life of Krishna in Indian Art* (Delhi, 1978); F. Hutchens, *Young Krishna* (West Franklin, N.H., 1980).

## 6 KRISHNA AND THE GOLDEN CITY OF DWARKA

From the *Harivamsa*

Probably designed by Kesu Kalan and painted by Miskin

Circa 1585

29.4 × 18.7 cm. (11½ × 7½ in.); 34.9 × 23.2 cm. (13¾ × 9½ in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: *Ettinghausen*, pl. 5.  
54.6

*Illustration*, p. 21; *colorplate*, p. 47

Thus looking at Dwarka, Krishna of most excellent eyes, saw his own house consisting of hundreds of palaces. He saw there a million of white, jewelled pillars, a gate with gems lustrous like fire and a number of effulgent golden seats placed here and there. For his court a huge palace had been made entirely of gold with crystal pillars.<sup>8</sup>

The god entered, and with his brother Balarama at his side, he sat enthroned, receiving the homage of his kinsmen. Nearby was the magical Parijata tree, which Krishna, urged on by his wife, stole from the god Indra.

A similar episode is among the few *Harivamsa* scenes included in the Jaipur *Razm-nama* manuscript (figs. 9–10), and the relationship is so close in composition and style that the two projects seem contemporary and possibly by the same artists, Kesu Kalan and Miskin. The *Razm-nama* illustration is double page, and the Freer illustration corresponds to the right half.

For a discussion of Kesu, see pages 100–101, and of Miskin, pages 124–26.

## Additional Dispersed Pages from the *Harivamsa*

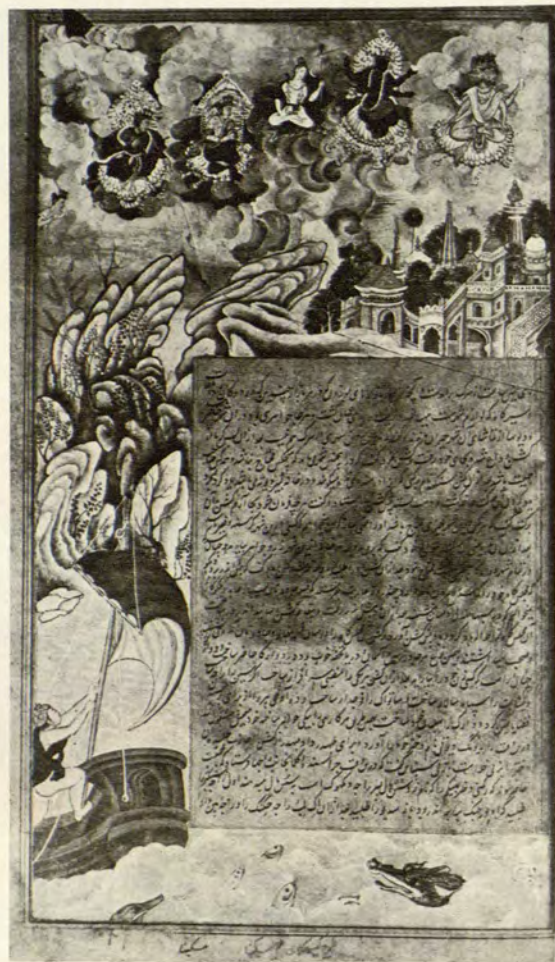
The text of the manuscript and six original illustrations are in the Lucknow Museum (57.106); three further illustrations included there are nineteenth century and irrelevant. None of the known paintings bears an inscription of authorship, and several paintings have been inserted into later borders.

In the tentative subject identifications given below, page references are given to Manmatha Nath Dutt, *A Prose English Translation of Harivamsa* (Calcutta, 1897).

- |            |                                                                                                                                      |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| p. 25      | <i>Prithu Chases the Earth-Cow</i><br>Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares<br>PUBLISHED: <i>Cbhavi</i> 1: pl. C.                              |
| p. 44      | <i>The Ashvini</i><br>Los Angeles County Museum of Art<br>PUBLISHED: <i>Heeramanek</i> , no. 199a.                                   |
| p. 211     | <i>Krishna Kills Kalanemi</i><br>Lucknow Museum<br>PUBLISHED: Banerjee, <i>Life of Krishna</i> , fig. 210.                           |
| p. 256     | <i>The Birth of Krishna</i><br>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston                                                                           |
| pp. 265–66 | <i>Krishna Uproots the Arjuna Trees</i><br>Victoria and Albert Museum, London<br>PUBLISHED: Skelton, "Mughal Paintings," fig. 2.     |
| p. 272     | <i>Krishna and Balarama Arrive in Brindaban</i><br>Virginia Museum, Richmond<br>PUBLISHED: Hutchens, <i>Young Krishna</i> , fig. 10. |
| p. 286     | <i>Balarama Slays Dhenuka</i><br>Los Angeles County Museum of Art<br>PUBLISHED: <i>Heeramanek</i> , no. 199b.                        |
| pp. 291–92 | <i>Balarama Slays Pralambha</i><br>Pan-Asian Collection                                                                              |







Figs. 9–10. *The Golden City of Dwarka*. From the *Razm-nama*. Designed by Kesu Kalan, painted by Miskin, circa 1582–86. Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur. Photographs courtesy Freer Gallery of Art.

pp. 304–5 *Krishna Holding Mt. Govardhan*  
Attributed here to Sur Das  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PUBLISHED: Welch AMI, no. 13;  
Welch IMP, pl. 10.

p. 335 *Krishna Destroys Kesi*  
Lucknow Museum

pp. 368–69 *Krishna Kills Kansa*  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: Skelton, "Mughal  
Paintings," pl. 2.

p. 428 *Balarama Fights Jarasandha*  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PUBLISHED: Banerjee, *Life of  
Krishna*, fig. 182.

pp. 438–39 *Balarama Ploughing the Jumna*  
Lucknow Museum

p. 460 *Krishna Received by Bhismaka*  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: Skelton, "Mughal  
Paintings," fig. 4.





Cat. no. 16d verso





Cat. no. 17b





Cat. no. 7 recto

- p. 470 *King Salva Visiting Kalayavana*  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
PUBLISHED: Sotheby, June 12, 1967, lot 115.
- p. 490 *Muchukunda Reduces Kalayavana to Ashes*  
Lucknow Museum
- p. 510 *Balarama Kills Rakshmi*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: Binney Collection, no. 23a.
- p. 520 *Krishna and Satyabhama Kill Narakasura*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: Binney Collection, no. 23b.

- pp. 570ff *Krishna Fights Indra*  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
PUBLISHED: Skelton, "Mughal Paintings," fig. 5; BM 1976, no. 55.
- p. 625 *Krishna Kills Nikumbha*  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
PUBLISHED: Skelton, "Mughal Paintings," fig. 7.
- p. 633 *Shiva Kills Andhaka*  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
PUBLISHED: Skelton, "Mughal Paintings," fig. 8.
- p. 680 *Pradyumana Kills Vajranabha (?)*  
Lucknow Museum
- p. 717 *Pradyumana Kills Samvara (?)*  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
- pp. 932ff *Vishnu with Vali*  
Lucknow Museum

The specific subjects of the following *Harivamsa* pages have not been identified.

*Krishna and Balarama in Battle*  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
PUBLISHED: Banerjee, *Life of Krishna*, fig. 182.

*Krishna Kills a Demon*  
Private collection  
PUBLISHED: Sotheby, December 12, 1972, lot 22.

Unidentified  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 32/2/12)

#### NOTES

1. Badaoni, p. 265.
2. Ibid., pp. 329–30.
3. Robert Skelton, "Mughal Paintings from Harivamsa Manuscript," *Yearbook of the Victoria and Albert Museum* 2: 48.
4. Badaoni, pp. 330–31.
5. A'in, pp. 110–11.
6. Ibid., p. 112.
7. E.g., Binney Collection, no. 23a.
8. Manmatha Nath Dutt, *A Prose English Translation of Harivamsa* (Calcutta, 1897), p. 678ff.





غالباً نیلکه کامی کنت اند و شاخ خوردی دارد و کوهی

از یک جب دراز تر میوهی چند دارد به بختی قطش بهتی دارد  
توانغ او مثل توانغ کاواست زکاده او مثل زک کوزن است  
شاخ هم ندارد دموی زیر کله هم ندارد پست به نش این  
تجاف وضع تراست دیگر کوه پاجا است کلانی او بر آبور



صحنه کاها - عمل مضور

۱۰۴



## The *Babur-nama*

On this day the Khan-Khanan produced before the august Presence [Akbar] the Memoirs of Firdus Makani (Babur) which he had rendered into Persian out of the Turki, and received great praise.<sup>1</sup>

The original text, really a journal, was a chronicle of Babur's life, a natural history, and an extraordinary revelation of the first Mughal emperor's character. It was written in Chagatai Turkish, the family language of the Mughals, and the translation mentioned above was presented to Akbar on November 24, 1589. Abd ar-Rahim, Khan Khanan (Commander-in-Chief), was himself a noted patron of literature and painting (see cat. nos. 15 and 18a), and it may be that, like Faizi, he simply refined and polished a text actually translated by others.

There are several known illustrated Akbar-period copies of the memoirs. Ellen Smart, who is in the process of publishing a major study of the group, lists and dates the works in the following order:<sup>2</sup>

### *Babur-nama*

Circa 1589

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and dispersed  
Of the original 191 illustrations, 108 have been located by Dr. Smart, 21 making up the well-known group in the Victoria and Albert Museum. She believes this to be the first presentation copy. Several pages are reproduced in *BM* 1976, nos. 21–26.

### *Babur-nama*

Circa 1591

British Library, London (Or. 3714)

The work originally had 183 paintings, 143 being still in the bound volume. Ninety-three illustrations are reproduced in *Suleiman*. See also *Tittle Miniatures*, no. 268.

### *Babur-nama*

Circa 1593

State Museum of Oriental Cultures, Moscow, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W.596)

Two major groups of folios have survived: fifty-nine are in Moscow, thirty-four are in Baltimore. This manuscript also contained 183 illustrations. The Moscow portion is reproduced in S. Tyulayev, *Miniatures of Babur-nama*. In Russian. (Moscow, 1960).

### *Babur-nama*

Dated 1597–98

National Museum of India, New Delhi

Of the 183 illustrations, 173 remain in the volume and are in process of being fully published by the National Museum.

In addition, there is a fifth manuscript in the Government Museum, Alwar (Rajasthan),<sup>3</sup> but several of

the folios are of the nineteenth century. The original portions seem to be early seventeenth century and are related to the manuscripts made at Allahabad for the young Jahangir.

Of these copies, the Victoria and Albert Museum set is clearly the most important. It is the only manuscript worked on by Basawan (who executed five designs for figural scenes, the greatest number by any artist), and its style is the earliest and most tentative. It is also the only one executed primarily by designers and assistants, rather than by single artists working alone. It seems generally true also that illustrations in the later manuscripts were by lesser artists, either those whose powers were declining (Mahesh), minor painters (Asi or Shankar Gujarati, who was assigned the greatest number of scenes in the British Library volume), or the young and relatively immature (Daulat or Payag). Presumably, these copies were made for presentation. There is a question, however, as to the date of the Victoria and Albert Museum manuscript, for many of the illustrations seem to be earlier than 1589, the date of the Khan Khanan's translation. This was the most famous and complete translation, but it was not the first to be made. During Babur's lifetime, Shaikh Zain-ud-din Khawafi (died 1533–34) prepared a Persian version of the text relating to the years in India, while Mirza Payandah Hasan Ghaznavi began in 1584 a translation of the earlier sections, a project completed (to the year 1528) by Muhammad Quli Mughal Hisari.<sup>4</sup> The Khan Khanan's text is likely to be closely related to these earlier efforts, and an analysis of these—and of their relation to the known illustrations—should be made. The proposed date of circa 1589, therefore, can be considered tentative.

REFERENCES: Annette Susannah Beveridge, *The Babur-nama in English*. Reprint. (London, 1969); Ellen Smart, "Four Illustrated Mughal Babur-nama Manuscripts," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 3 (1973): 54–58; Ellen Smart, "Six folios from a dispersed manuscript of the Baburnama," *Colnaghi* 1978, pp. 111–32.

## 7 [Recto] TWO WILD BUFFALO [Verso] TWO BLUE BULLS and TWO HOG DEER

From the *Babur-nama*

Designed by Kanha, painted by Mansur

Circa 1589 or earlier

25.3 × 15.1 cm. (10 × 5<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.), full page

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: *Beach GM*, fig. 12.

54.29

*Illustration, p. 75; detail, p. 178; colorplate, p. 50*





Cat. no. 17c





Cat. no. 17a





Cat. no. 17d



After Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, north of Delhi, in April 1526, he wrote extensively of his new country in the *Babur-nama*, carefully describing the political structure as well as the flora and fauna. The illustrated versions of his memoirs, therefore, show both historical events and interesting plants and animals. The present double-sided folio illustrates a specific passage included in the account for A.H. 932 (A.D. 1526):

The wild-buffalo is another of the wild animals peculiar to Hindustan. It is much larger than the (domestic) buffalo and its horns do not turn back in the same way. It is a mightily destructive and ferocious animal.

The *nila-gau* (blue-bull) is another. It may stand as high as a horse but is somewhat lighter in build. The male is bluish-gray, hence, seemingly, people call it *nila-gau*. It has two rather small horns. On its throat is a tuft of hair, nine inches long; (in this) it resembles the yak. Its hoof is cleft like the hoof of cattle. The doe is the color of the *bughu-maral*; she, for her part, has no horns and is plumper than the male.

The hog-deer is another. It may be of the size of the white deer. It has short legs, hence its name, little legged. Its horns are like the *bughu's* but smaller; like the *bughu* it casts them every year. Being rather a poor runner, it does not leave the jungle.<sup>5</sup>

This page comes from the Victoria and Albert Museum volume, the earliest known illustrated *Babur-nama*.

## KANHA

We do not yet have enough works to properly isolate the style of Kanha, the designer of both folio sides. His most important paintings are datable to the 1580s, when he worked on the *Razm-nama* and *Darab-nama* manuscripts. In the first work, he was responsible for the design of five folios and painted six further illustrations (one designed by Daswanth, five by Basawan). This is a significant contribution, implying that Kanha was considered a major artist. It also may indicate that his style was more congenial to Basawan than to the visionary Daswanth. Probably his greatest page in the *Razm-nama* shows the Hindu equivalent of Noah's ark and depicts all living creatures floating in a boat on the waters of the Great Deluge. Kanha seems subsequently to have been given commissions specifically of scenes centered around animals. Among the known pages of this *Babur-nama*, Kanha's name is the most frequently found, for he designed seven folios whereas Basawan is known only for five. These pages, and those in the Dublin *Aj'aib al-Makhlukat* of circa 1590, are exclusively animal studies. They are rendered in a delicate, precise style that emphasizes acute observation. Kanha may well have had a major impact on Mansur, his young collaborator here, many of whose works continue the elder artist's manner so closely.

Manuscripts with inscriptions to Kanha:

*Darab-nama*

Circa 1580

British Library, London

*Razm-nama*

Circa 1582–86

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Diwan* of Hafiz

Circa 1588

Raza Library, Rampur

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1589 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and dispersed

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, April 12, 1976, lot 72.

*Aja'ib al-Makhulqat*

Circa 1590

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

## MANSUR

Mansur's known career began in the late 1580s, when he was assigned the painting illustrated here. His designer and collaborator (and immediate superior) was Kanha, who, with Miskin, must have been considered the major animal painters of the time (these two senior artists contributed the largest portion of the natural history section of the first *Babur-nama*). At about the same time, Mansur worked on two pages of the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nama*. The first was an elaborate hunting scene designed by Miskin; the second, a court scene designed by Basawan, the greatest figural painter of the period. Clearly, Mansur was being trained by the major talent in the workshops. In about 1591, he was given sole responsibility for five animal studies in the British Library *Babur-nama*, an obvious recognition of his quickly established proficiency with animal subjects. His subsequent career, in fact, is built upon this ability, and Jahangir's memoirs mention several commissions of animal and flower paintings from the artist.<sup>6</sup> His work as a portraitist or a painter of figural compositions was indifferent, as attested by his pages in the second *Akbar-nama*.

The double-sided folio in the Freer is a superb example of his early style. The basic characteristics of the design—the simple background, with a few typical plants placed in a way that rhythmically enlivens the surface, or the use of plain, uncolored paper to concentrate attention on the animals—are probably elements contributed here by Kanha, but they continue in Mansur's later natural history works.





Cat. no. 8



Fig. 11. *Birds at Baran*. From the *Babur-nama*. By Shyam, circa 1591. British Library, London (Or. 3714, fol. 190a). Photograph courtesy British Library Board.

as well. The slow, careful drawing and thinly applied paint, however, seem especially distinctive to Mansur.

As several studies of the artist have recently appeared (see References below), it seems unnecessary to repeat a full list and discussion of inscriptions and attributions. Instead, only the Akbar-period manuscripts are being included here, for this is a period of the artist's work that has been neglected. Mansur was extensively copied, both contemporaneously and later, and a consideration of this problem is found on page 178.

REFERENCES: T. Ahmad, "Nadiru'l-Asr Mansur," *Indo-Iranica* 25 (1972): 51–55; Asok Das, "Ustad Mansur," *Lalit Kala* 17: 32–39; Asok Das, "Some More Mansur Drawings," *Lalit Kala* 18: 26–31; *Beach GM*, pp. 137–43.

Akbar-period manuscripts with inscriptions to Mansur:

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1589 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and dispersed

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: *Welsh IMP*, pl. 14.

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1591

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: *Suleiman*, pls. 63–65.

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: Basil Gray and André Godard, *Iran: Persian Miniatures: Imperial Library* (New York, 1956), pl. xxx.

*Khamisa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Dated 1597–98

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

*Babur-nama*

Dated 1597–98

National Museum of India, New Delhi

*Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604

British Library, London





## 8 BIRDS AT BARAN

Possibly from the *Babur-nama*

Late 16th century

17.1 × 9.5 cm. (6¾ × 3¾ in.)

Ex-collection: Hanna

07.611

This puzzling work is an exact copy of a portion of folio 190a in the British Library *Babur-nama* (fig. 11) and might come from a contemporary, close copy of that manuscript.<sup>7</sup> The original page is inscribed to Shyam and shows birdcatchers near Kabul.

### NOTES

1. *Akbar-nama*, 3: 862.
2. E. Smart, "Six folios from a dispersed manuscript of the Baburnama," *Colnaghi* 1978, pp. 111–14.
3. I am grateful to Ellen Smart for information about the location of the manuscript.
4. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, pp. 220–21.
5. *Babur-nama*, pp. 490–91.
6. *Beach GM*, p. 137.
7. See *Welch AML*, no. 9, which shows the same episode from the earliest *Babur-nama*.

## The First *Akbar-nama*

"Their congratulations drowned me in the perspiration of modesty,"<sup>1</sup> wrote Abu'l Fazl after his formal presentation of the first volume of the *Akbar-nama* in 1596. In April of that year he had finished the account of Akbar's first thirty years, a chronicle ending in September 1572—midway through the seventeenth regnal year—and including a short history of Akbar's ancestors. The author was initially assisted by his brother, the poet Faizi. His task was to polish Abu'l Fazl's rough prose, as he had done for the translation of the *Mahabharata*, but Faizi died in 1595, leaving Abu'l Fazl despondent and alone with his task.

Outwardly I was occupied, to the exclusion of everything else, in writing the noble history, inwardly I was supplicating the Incomparable Giver, and was imploring a lamp for my darkened heart.<sup>2</sup>

Inspiration eventually came to him. "I was made a rich treasury of eloquence,"<sup>3</sup> he continued, and the text occupied the remainder of his life.

Abu'l Fazl's original intention was to write four volumes, for he anticipated that the emperor would live to be 120; a fifth volume would cover details of the administration of the empire. This latter work, which is now considered volume three of the *Akbar-nama* as it was actually completed, is the *A'in-i-Akbari* (Annals of Akbar). It was finished in 1598 and presented in that year to the emperor, together with the historical narrative brought up to date. Abu'l Fazl wrote:

Within the space of seven years, by the aid of a resolute will and lofty purpose, a compendious survey covering a period from Adam down to the sacred person of the prince regnant, has been concluded, and from the birth of His Imperial Majesty to this day, which is the 42nd of the Divine Era, and according to the lunar computation 1006, the occurrences of fifty-five years of that nursing of grace have been felicitously recorded, and my mind has been lightened in some degree of its stupendous burden.<sup>4</sup>

The project, then, began in 1590–91, and Abu'l Fazl made great use of the newly established Record Office to ensure the factuality of his account.

I obtained the chronicle of events beginning at the nineteenth year of the Divine Era, when the Record Office was established by the enlightened intellect of his Majesty, and from its rich pages I gathered the accounts of many events. Great pains too, were taken to procure originals or copies of most of the orders which had been issued to the provinces from the Accession up to the present date which is the dawn of Fortune's morning. Their sacred contents yielded much material for the sublime volume.<sup>5</sup>

While Abu'l Fazl's text is the most famous, it was not the earliest account of Akbar's reign, for the *Nafa'is ul-Ma'asir* of Mir Ala ud-daula Qazwini was begun in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565–66), and both the illustrated *Timur-nama* and *Tarikh-i-Alfi* manuscripts (see Appendix) briefly discuss the period.

Abu'l Fazl's personal closeness to Akbar was one cause of the antagonism of Prince Salim. In August 1602, during his rebellion in Allahabad, Salim arranged for Abu'l Fazl's murder by Bir Singh Dev, a Hindu prince and courtier from Orchha. The *Akbar-nama* had been completed through April of that year, and it was continued. The author's name, however, is uncertain.<sup>6</sup>

There are two major illustrated *Akbar-nama* manuscripts known (see also cat. no. 12a–g), neither of them complete.<sup>7</sup> The major portion of this copy is in the Victoria and Albert Museum and consists of 116 illustrations of events dating between 1560 and 1578. With one exception, the few known dispersed pages all relate to episodes preceding the London volume. The exception (in the India Office Library, London) is datable to 1578, immediately following the last of the Victoria and Albert pages, and was acquired by an Englishman in the eighteenth century. Many pages of the manuscript are missing; there is, therefore, no assurance that it was ever a complete version of the text.

Even if the paintings were being made as the text was being written (as was the case with the *Razm-nama*, among others, see cat. no. 6), the illustrations must logically be dated in the later 1590s, for in 1596 the narrative was complete only to 1572. This seems impossible, however, on the basis of style as we pre-





Cat. no. 18a



sently understand it. All of the dated, imperial manuscripts of the 1590s show a more developed sense of space and personal characterization, modeling, and color. In addition, the styles of individual artists (Dharm Das is an excellent example)<sup>8</sup> match their work in the 1580s rather than the later decade. The closest stylistic parallel to the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nama* is the *Timur-nama* of circa 1584, yet this manuscript is in many ways more advanced stylistically than the *Akbar-nama*. One inevitably wonders if the illustrations were intended for an earlier biography of Akbar and were reused when Abu'l Fazl's text made others obsolete. A comparable situation exists with the great *Padshah-nama* (or *Shah Jahan-nama*) manuscript at Windsor Castle.

REFERENCES: H. Beveridge, "Note on an Illuminated Persian Manuscript," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905): 365–66; E. F. Wellesz, "An Akbar-namah Manuscript," *Burlington Magazine* (June 1942): 135–41; Ahmad Nabi Khan, "An Illustrated Akbarnama Manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London," *East and West* 19 (1969): 424–29; Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, pp. 262–77.

## 9 BABUR AT THE CAPTURE OF KABUL

From the *Akbar-nama*

Painted by Mahesh, with portraits by Basawan

Circa 1590 or earlier

33.4 × 20.2 cm. (13 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.); 36.6 × 23.9 cm. (14 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramanek, Demotte

45.27

*Illustration, p. 86; details, pp. 12, 28, 87*

According to the text, the event took place in 1504:

At that time Muhammad Muqim, son of Zu-n-nun Arghun had taken Kabul from Abdu-razzaq, son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, son of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirza, who was his Majesty's cousin. On hearing the noise of the coming of the victorious standards, he fortified himself, but after some days he sought for peace and obtained permission to go to his brother Shah Beg in Qandahar with his property. Kabul fell into the hands of his Majesty's servants in the end of Rabi'u-l-awwal 910 (beginning of October 1504).<sup>9</sup>

While the episode centers on Babur, the enthroned king is wearing the distinctive turban of Humayun—an inconsistency that cannot presently be explained, unless the illustration was originally intended for a different subject.

### MAHESH

Mahesh is mentioned in the *A'in-i-Akbari* as the twelfth of the seventeen most important painters

listed by Abu'l Fazl, and we know from the marginal notations on manuscript illustrations that he was the father of the artists Miskin, one of the greatest Akbari masters, and Asi, who was given both minor imperial and subimperial commissions.<sup>10</sup> His earliest inscribed work is in the Jaipur *Razm-nama* of 1582–86, for which as a major, mature artist he was allowed complete responsibility (design and execution) for four illustrations. Only one other artist, Makand, with six folios, exceeds this number of assignments. (Other painters were delegated more pages, however, but these were for design or execution, not both.) In the *Razm-nama* and the slightly more advanced *Ramayana*, finished in 1589 and also now in Jaipur, Mahesh's style is clearly recognizable, and it remains intact in this *Akbar-nama* page. His figures can be immensely lively, as shown by gesture, stance, and facial expression, and this animation is enhanced by generally bright colors. Unless he is working with a designer such as Kesu Kalan (known also as Kesu Das), his compositions tend to be on the surface, with little spatial recession, and these traits seem to come to him from a background in pre-Mughal Hindu styles. Even the early pages show a developed delight in bearded faces and an ability to make mustaches expressive. The smooth, distinctive forms he develops for mountains remain relatively unchanged throughout his career. Like the facial types of minor characters, mountain forms tend to evolve into personal formulas, which artists repeat with only minor variations; compare the mountains here, for example, with those of Miskin (cat. no. 19) or Farrukh (cat. no. 16c).

Mahesh contributed four illustrations to the British Library *Darab-nama* and one to the 1588 *Diwan* of Anwari. The decade of the 1580s seems to represent a pinnacle of his activity and imperial esteem, for Mahesh did not make major contributions to the most deluxe manuscripts of the 1590s. Apart from the *Jami al-Tawarikh* of 1596 and the *Anwar-i-Subaili* of 1596–97, his work was confined to the four *Babur-nama* projects and then the *Aja'ib al-Makhlukat* in Dublin and possibly a subimperial *Iyar-i-Danish*. These are decidedly less prestigious commissions than his earlier work.

In the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nama* pages, Mahesh served as a designer for some folios and an assistant on others. In the best pages, the figures are drawn with immense precision and spirit; in catalogue number 9, however, we see a lack of gestural, facial, and character differentiation, which must have contributed to his declining esteem. His style was certainly most appropriate for early Akbari manuscripts, and it was probably age that made it difficult for him to adapt to the new emphases of painting at the end of Akbar's reign. A page from the *Hamza-nama* can be attributed to the artist; it shows his repertoire of





Cat. no. 9



figural types (compare details of cat. nos. 9 and 5b) and such details as the characteristic dip given to eyebrows to make their bearers seem thoughtful. This is Mahesh at his strongest. He may also have worked on the 1570 *Anwar-i-Suhaili* and the Cleveland *Tuti-nama*.

Manuscripts with inscriptions to Mahesh:

*Darab-nama*

Circa 1580

British Library, London

*Razm-nama*

Circa 1582–86

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Ramayana*

Circa 1584–89

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Diwan* of Anwari

Dated 1588

Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1589 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 13, 1971, lot 74.

See cat. no. 9

*Aja'ib al-Makbluqat*

Circa 1590

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: *Marek and Knizkova*, pl. 14.

*Anwar-i-Suhaili*

Dated 1596

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

*Babur-nama*

Dated 1597–98

National Museum of India, New Delhi

*Iyar-i-Danish*

Early 17th century

Present location unknown

REFERENCES *Sotheby*, July 9, 1974, lot 309.

Manuscripts with folios attributed here to Mahesh:

*Tuti-nama*

Circa 1560

Cleveland Museum of Art



Detail of cat. no. 9



Detail of cat. no. 5b

The assignment of paintings to individual artists is particularly problematical in this manuscript because of its early date and wide range of styles. One of several tentative attributions to Mahesh is folio 23r.

PUBLISHED: *Tuti-nama*, fol. 23r.

*Hamza-nama*

Circa 1562–77

See cat. no. 5b

*Anwar-i-Suhaili*

Circa 1570

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London





Cat. no. 21



Unidentified manuscript

Circa 1590

Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The Boston page shows two men fighting outside a domed building, while the Fogg illustration, on which the text has been erased, concerns the escape of a man whose leg has been tied to a pillar. These are the only pages from this lively manuscript known to the author.

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1593

State Museum of Oriental Cultures, Moscow, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

PUBLISHED: Tyulayev, *Miniatures of Babur-nama*, pls. 12–13 and 30.

## BASAWAN

Basawan is listed in the *A'in-i-Akbari* as the greatest of Akbar's painters after Mir Sayyid Ali, Abd as-Samad, and Daswanth (see page 24). By 1584, however, Mir Sayyid Ali was no longer active, Abd as-Samad was a figurehead, and Daswanth had committed suicide. Basawan, therefore, was the most important, prestigious, and influential painter active during the later years of Akbar's reign. The list of his works given below is virtually a complete list of major Akbari manuscripts. For illustrations that were collaborations, his assignments were as outliner/designer as befitting his status. Two other artists (Lal and Miskin) were usually given more pages, probably as a result of Basawan's slow and painstaking technique.

More than any of his compatriots, Basawan studied and learned profoundly from the European prints that circulated in the Mughal empire, and consequently his figures are defined by weight and mass, and his character studies are unrivaled (see cat. no. 25, for example, or compare his portrait of Babur in cat. no. 9 [illustrated on p. 12] with the portraits of attending nobles by Mahesh on the same folio [illustrated on p. 87]). Basawan was a rationalist, with an interest in physical form and texture and a sympathetic comprehension of human individuality—unlike his early rival Daswanth,<sup>11</sup> for whom the human was simply one manifestation of a universal energy. And whereas Daswanth's designs are most effective as two-dimensional patterns, Basawan's figures exist in a spatial volume (and this is probably the "back grounding," which Abu'l Fazl mentions, see p. 24). These distinctions are quite clearly evident in paintings each artist designed for the Jaipur *Razm-nama*.<sup>12</sup> Basawan's achievement was crucial to the development of Jahangiri portraiture in the early seventeenth century, an astonishing attainment since he was also instrumental in the formation of the quite different early Mughal style.

He has been well studied, most recently in an excellent article by Stuart C. Welch (see References below). To the works mentioned there, we have added several other commissions that are now known, the most important being signed and attributed pages in the Cleveland Museum *Tuti-nama* of circa 1560; these show an early interest in European styles and techniques. They are also significant evidence for the availability of European works as models well before the arrival of the first Jesuit mission in 1580.<sup>13</sup>

The progress of Basawan's style shows a continually evolving understanding and adaptation of European principles, unlike such a painter as Kesu Das (see p. 100), who copied and adapted European prints in even greater profusion. In Kesu's work, we sense a barrier to full comprehension, for while he dealt inventively with space and modeling, he was an indifferent portraitist, his figures seldom transcending general types. Basawan inevitably used very subdued colors, whereas Kesu, Mahesh, or Miskin (cat. no. 13) preferred bright, flat tones that tended to reinforce surface, rather than spatial, values.

The *Tuti-nama*, *Hamza-nama*, and *Darab-nama* pages are the best and most comparable examples for understanding the progression of Basawan's early development.<sup>14</sup> By the 1580s he was a fully mature painter, and his later works were essentially refinements of the *Darab-nama* style. His career ended about 1600, when his name no longer appears in marginal inscriptions.

REFERENCES: Wilhelm Staude, "Contribution à l'étude de Basawan," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 8 (1934): 1–18; Wilhelm Staude, "Basawan," *Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York, 1960), 2: 384–88 and pls. 221–24; Stuart C. Welch, "The Paintings of Basawan," *Lalit Kala* 10: 7–17.

Manuscripts with inscriptions to Basawan:

*Tuti-nama*

Circa 1560

Cleveland Museum of Art

REFERENCE: Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, pp. 77–78.

*Darab-nama*

Circa 1580

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Welch, "Painting of Basawan," fig. 1; Welch IMP, pl. 6.

*Razm-nama*

Circa 1582–86

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

PUBLISHED: Banerjee, *Life of Krishna*, fig. 258.

*Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore



*Ramayana*  
Circa 1584–88  
City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Khamsa* of Nizami  
Circa 1585  
Keir Collection

PUBLISHED: *Robinson, ed., Keir*, nos. V.15, 20, 22, 26.

*Babur-nama*  
Circa 1589 or earlier  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

*Akbar-nama*  
Circa 1590 or earlier  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
PUBLISHED: *BM* 1976, no. 27; *Welch AMI*, no. 11A; *Welch IMP*, pls. 12–13; Pramod Chandra and Daniel J. Ehnbohm, *The Cleveland Tuti-nama Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Chicago, 1976), no. 80.  
See cat. no. 9

*Baharistan* of Jami  
Dated 1595  
Bodleian Library, Oxford  
PUBLISHED: *Welch IMP*, pl. 8.

*Anwar-i-Subaili*  
Dated 1596–97  
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares  
PUBLISHED: *Welch IMP*, pl. 8.

*Jami al-Tawarikh*  
Dated 1596  
Former Imperial Library, Tehran  
PUBLISHED: *Marek and Knizkova*, pls. 1, 3, 5, etc.; Gray and Godard, *Iran: Persian Miniatures*, pl. XXIX.

*Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi  
Dated 1597–98  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore  
PUBLISHED: *Welch*, "Paintings of Basawan," figs. 4, 8.

*Gulistan* of Sa'di  
Circa 1600  
Dispersed page in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Manuscripts attributed to Basawan:

*Hamza-nama*  
Circa 1562–77  
Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna  
PUBLISHED: M. C. Beach, "An Early European Source for Mughal Painting," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 2 (1976): fig. 12.

*Diwan* of Anwari  
Dated 1588  
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.  
PUBLISHED: *Welch AMI*, no. 4A.

*Diwan* of Shahi  
Circa 1595  
Private collection  
PUBLISHED: *Welch AMI*, no. 5B.

Unidentified manuscript  
Circa 1595  
Dispersed page in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 11A, no. 33)

Unidentified manuscript  
Circa 1595  
Dispersed page in the former Imperial Library, Tehran  
PUBLISHED: *Welch*, "Paintings of Basawan," fig. 5.

*Akbar-nama*  
Former Imperial Library, Tehran  
REFERENCE: Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 95, which claims that the twelve pages in Tehran are a separate manuscript.

### Additional Dispersed Pages from the First *Akbar-nama*

The major intact section of the manuscript, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, consists of 274 folios of text, written in a panel of 25 lines. The text begins on the recto of original folio number 267, and there are 116 illustrations.<sup>15</sup> With one exception, the dispersed pages listed below are from the portion preceding the London volume.

Text references, when identified, are given to Abu'l Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, translated by H. Beveridge. Vols. 1–3. Reprint. (Delhi, 1972–73).

1: 232 *Prisoners Led before Babur at Kabul*  
Designed by Farrukh, painted by Dhannu, with portraits by Dharm Das  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: *Binney Collection*, no. 19.

1: 310–12 *Siege of Champanir*  
Painted by Dharm Das  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art  
PUBLISHED: *Heeramanek*, no. 201.

1: 570 *The Head of Qarach Khan Brought to Humayun*  
Painted by Bhura, with portraits by Miskin  
Philadelphia Museum of Art



- 1: 576 (?) *Battle of Humayun and Kamran at Kabul*  
Painted by Mahesh, with portraits by Padarath  
Private collection  
PUBLISHED: Sotheby, July 13, 1971, lot 74.
- 1: 602 (?) *Humayun Receiving Kamran Mirza*  
Designed by Lal, painted by Dhannu, with portraits by Khem Karan  
City Palace Museum, Jaipur  
PUBLISHED: Asok Das, *Treasures of Indian Painting* (Jaipur, 1978), pl. I.
- 2: 27–29 *The Arrest of Shah Abu al-Maali*  
Designed by Basawan, painted by Shankar  
Art Institute of Chicago  
PUBLISHED: Pramod Chandra and Daniel J. Ehnborn, *Cleveland Tuti-nama*, fig. 80.
- 2: 58 *The Defeat of Hemu*  
Designed by Kanha  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: Sotheby, April 12, 1976, lot 72.
- 3: 345ff *Episode in a Hunt*  
India Office Library, London  
PUBLISHED: Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 22.
- Battle Scene*  
Kraus Collection  
PUBLISHED: Grube, *Islamic Paintings*, no. 230.
- The Flight of Sultan Bahadur*  
Painted by Bhura, with portraits by Bhimjiv  
Cincinnati Art Museum
- Humayun's Victory over the Afghans*  
Cleveland Museum of Art

#### NOTES

1. *Akbar-nama*, 2: 554.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 561.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *A'in*, 3: 475–76.
5. *Akbar-nama*, 1: 31.
6. *A'in*, p. liii, where the possibility of Inayat-ullah Muhibb Ali's authorship is mentioned.
7. Unconfirmed reports have listed other copies in the former Imperial Library, Tehran, and the collections in Jaipur Palace.
8. Unfortunately such statements cannot be corroborated by published material, and relevant reproductions are not available. Compare, however, illustration 16 of the

Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nama* with folio 45a of the *Darab-nama* manuscript.

9. *Akbar-nama*, 2: 228–29.
10. See page 124 here.
11. See page 24 here.
12. Compare Banerjee, *Life of Krishna*, fig. 265 (designed by Daswanth), with figs. 257–58 (designed by Basawan).
13. See Introduction, note 37.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Khan, "An Illustrated Akbarnama Manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London," p. 426.

## The *Tarikh-i-Alfi*

According to Badaoni, Akbar in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1581–82) commissioned a new history of the Islamic world to be completed by the time of the Islamic millennium:

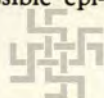
The first command that he issued was this: that the "Era of a Thousand" should be stamped on the coins, and that a *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, commencing with the death of the Prophet, should be written.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Muntakhabu-t-Tavarikh*, Badaoni provides a continuing commentary on the assembling of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (History of a Thousand), giving us a sense of its formation that we get from no other manuscript:

The year 1,000 of the Hijrah era, which is in general use, being now of the point of completion, the Emperor ordered a history of all the kings of Islam to be written, which should in reality supersede all other histories, and directed that such a name should be given to the work as to denote the year of its completion. It was for this reason that the work was entitled *Alfi*. He . . . employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the death of the last of the Prophets (the blessing of God be upon him, and may He give him peace!) up to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world. He assigned the first year to Naqib Khan, the second to Shah Fath ullah, and so on to Hakim Humam, Hakim Ali, Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi (who had just then arrived from Gujrat), Mirza Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, and myself. And after that another seven years, and in this way the distribution of 35 years was provided for.<sup>2</sup>

Abu'l Fazl seems to have been involved as well. In the *A'in-i-Akbari*, he states that he wrote an introduction.<sup>3</sup>

Akbar intended to free this history from all legendary and irrational events. The emperor kept close watch on the progress of the work, which the authors periodically read to him. At one point, he accused Badaoni of including fantastic and impossible episodes and asks him for an explanation:







Cat. no. 10a



Cat. no. 10b

During the time that I was compiling the events of the seventh year . . . one night, when the Emperor heard the account of the foundation of Kufah, and the building and destruction of Qaṣr-uk-imarāt, which was narrated in detail together with the cause of its destruction, and . . . the fall of the city of Naḥbīn, and the scorpions big as cocks, which were made use of to effect its capture, he raised great objections and would not accept the truth of it. Aḡaf Khan Salīd who is the same as Mirza Jafar, helped me in but a poor way, but Shaikh Abu'l Fazl and Ghazi Khan Badakhshi, on the other hand, confirmed my assertions. When I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in books, and had written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the *Rauzat-ul-Abbāb* and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Naqib Khan to verify the accuracy of the statement, which by God's grace being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention.<sup>4</sup>

The progress of the assembling of the text may have taken longer than Akbar anticipated or perhaps the coordination of seven authors was simply too confusing. In any case, Badaoni continues:

At the recommendation of Hakim Abu'l-Fath the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mulla Ahmad of Tat'hah, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices, a fact which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Chingiz Khan, when Mizra Fulad one night, pretending that the Emperor had sent for Mulla Ahmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lahor, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion.<sup>5</sup>

The murder occurred in 1588, at which point Mulla Ahmad had worked on the text for three years, bringing the account from the thirty-sixth year after Mu-





Cat. no. 28



hammad's death in 632 to the reign of Genghis Khan (r. 1206–27). This represents an enormously speeded production, for in the preceding four years only thirty-five years of the narrative had been completed by the seven authors.

After Mulla Ahmad's death, the completion of the text was assigned to Asaf Khan Ja'far Beg, and then the whole compilation was revised and corrected by Badaoni (assisted by Mulla Mustafa Katib) and Asaf Khan. Badaoni writes:

The remainder of the work was done by Aṣaf Khan up to the year nine hundred and ninety-seven. In the year one thousand I was ordered to proceed to Lahor, to revise the composition, compare it with other histories, and arrange the dates in their proper sequence. I composed the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Aṣaf Khan.<sup>6</sup>

In A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593–94) the entire work was in its final form:

On the date the "Eminence of the Sun," the compiler of this compendium completed the first volume of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, which consists of three volumes, of which two are by Mulla Ahmad of Thathah, the Heretic (be on him what may) and the third by Aṣaf Khan. And an order had been issued to me to revise and collate it, in conjunction with Mulla Muṭṭafa Katib of Lahor, who is a worthy friend of mine. . . . I presented it, and it obtained the honour of the Emperor's approval. And since the second volume contained much bigotry, the Emperor commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I sufficiently collated it, but on account of my own taint of "bigotry," I did not interfere with the book, except as regards the order of the years, and did not alter the original, but laid the blame on my state of health.<sup>7</sup>

Very few pages are known from the imperial illustrated *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, so that no proper examination of the text can be used. Presumably this copy includes Badaoni's revisions and if so should be dated 1592–94,<sup>8</sup> for it was usual that illustrations were made as the text was being written. Known episodes date between the reign of Harun ar-Rashid (r. 786–809) and al-Mu'tazz (r. 866–69), and these include at least twenty-six illustrated pages (several of which are double sided). It is possible, therefore, that the manuscript originally contained about 300 illustrations.

It is characteristic of the work that the paintings surround the text, and that as in catalogue number 10a two quite separate scenes are occasionally on the same folio. As with such other historical manuscripts as the *Timur-nama*, the first *Akbar-nama* (cat. no. 9), the various *Babur-namas* (cat. nos. 7–8), or the *Jami al-Tawarikh* (cat. no. 11), the majority of the illustrations are hastily worked and in a rather conservative style; yet they are lively and spirited in ways impossible with more finished manuscripts.

REFERENCES: M. Mahfuz-ul Haq, "Discovery of a Portion of the Original Illustrated Manuscript of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* written for Emperor Akbar," *Islamic Culture* 5 (July 1931): 462–71; Percy Brown, "An Illustrated History of the Moslem World Written for the 'Great Mogul,'" *Parvassus* 4 (1932): 29; Basil Gray, "An Early Mughal Illuminated Page," *British Museum Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (1934): 149–51; J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, "Mughal Miniatures from the Period of Akbar," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 11 (1935): 117–20; Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, pp. 253–62.

## 10a THE SIEGE OF BAGHDAD BY TAHIR

From the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*

Circa 1592–94

42 × 24.7 cm. (16<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Ajit Ghose

31.25

*Illustration, p. 92*

The episode concerns the siege of Baghdad in 813 by Tahir and al-Ma'mun. The text has been translated:

Mohammad Amin [caliph of Baghdad] now prepared his army to fight Tahir and, like Tahir's, his men were also horsemen, and the streets of Baghdad were filled with a multitude of soldiers. Ma'mun sent three or four of his horsemen as messengers to Amin. They were invited to his banquets of wine, served by maid-servants, and to his sports of all kinds. Then he had them seized and led prisoner to a quarter of the city. When the news of this act reached Ma'mun, a great blaze of anger seized him and he at once ordered his army to turn toward Baghdad. So it happened that Amin was besieged in the city of Baghdad.

## 10b THE IMAM OF BAGHDAD BROUGHT BEFORE THE CALIPH ON A CHARGE OF HERESY

From the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*

Circa 1592–94

42.6 × 25 cm. (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 9<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Ajit Ghose

PUBLISHED: Maurice Dimand, *Indian Miniature Painting* (Milan, n.d.), pl. 9.

31.26

*Illustration, p. 92*

The event illustrated took place in 833:

In this year Mu'tasim had found that Ma'mun had not exaggerated his troubles with [the Imam] Ahmad born of Hanbal, who had persisted in his endeavour to prove that the Koran was the uncreated word of God, and had now refused to be turned from his stubbornness. Mu'tasim in his anger had commanded that he be thrown into prison.



Maurice Dimand in reference to the manuscript (see p.94) states that it was written between 1582 and 1588 and revised in 1594, and this information has been frequently repeated. The passages we have quoted from Badaoni indicate instead that it was a continuous project between 1582 and 1594, although a final, but unrevised, version was read in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591–92). Dimand also published an unexplained attribution of this page to Basawan, which is not accepted here.

## 10c A BANQUET

From the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*

Painted by Tarya, with portraits by Nar Singh

Circa 1592–94

42.1 × 24.6 cm. (16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Ajit Ghose

PUBLISHED: Brown, "An Illustrated History of the Modern World," p. 29.

31.27

### *Illustration, p. 98*

Percy Brown identified the scene as "The Caliph al-Mutawakkil gives a Banquet," but the text on the folio does not relate to the illustration and refers to an event that takes place during the reign of al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–42). It reads, in part:

With the news of the seizing of Babek, Mu'tasim showed great joy and gladness. When Afshin departed with Babek [from the place of capture] he went towards Samarra, and when he arrived within a league of the city the army of the governor came, and with it a white elephant belonging to the Sultan. It was adorned with red and green, and camels also came and also they were adorned, and a magnificent crown was sent which was given to Babek. Afshin commanded that Babek be placed on the elephant and his brother on a camel, and on them he put silken garments . . . and into the city they were brought. When Babek saw the elephant he asked, "For what reason is this . . . and from whom comes this garment?" Someone replied, "Honor is not only shown those possessing kingdoms, for a king in chains is still noble. . . ." [Later] Mu'tasim had him put to death and sometime later someone arrived at the Governor's with the head of Babek. From Arabian Iraq to Persian Iraq . . . and in all the great cities, men wept.

The majority of *Tarikh-i-Alfi* pages bear no inscriptional signatures or attributions. Here, however, a notation naming Tarya and Nar Singh is given in the doorway at the lower left.

### TARYA

Tarya, sometimes written as Tiriyya, is a minor painter, whose style is at its most controlled and developed in this illustration. Other known manuscripts with inscriptions to him include:

*Darab-nama*

Circa 1580

British Library, London

*Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1589 or earlier

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: *Suleiman*, pls. 19, 37, 41.

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

*Iyar-i-Danish*

Circa 1590

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

### NAR SINGH

Nar Singh's career seems to have begun in the later 1580s, for he is not known to have worked on the great manuscripts painted early in that decade. His pages in the first *Akbar-nama* and the British Library *Babur-nama* are relatively immature in conception and technique. By 1596, however, he had developed sufficient skill to be assigned pages in the great poetical manuscripts, the British Library *Khamsa* of Nizami and the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, and he shows himself a skillful technician and master in creating a quiet, restrained mood. Unless there are recognizable major historical figures in his works, the character types (the minor figures) show very little differentiation, removing from the scenes a source of interest and animation. He did, however, become a noted portraitist, a role he played first in this *Tarikh-i-Alfi* page, where the ruler is quite obviously painted by a different hand than are his attendant courtiers. In the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*, Nar Singh was assigned the major portraits on five pages, the only artist given so many, and he therefore assumed a specialty often earlier associated with Madhu.

His unassisted pages in the second *Akbar-nama* make clear that his style is better suited to the new, more reticent taste of the early seventeenth century than to the often intense visual activity typical of the 1590s. He worked on the *Nafabat al-Uns* and the Windsor *Khamsa* of Mir Ali Shir Nava'i manuscripts, two of the most epicurean books of the last years of Akbar's rule. In the second of these—his last known work—Nar Singh's one illustration couples absolutely expressionless and undifferentiated faces with a completely bland, still composition and an overall golden tonality. What gives the work strength is the sense of control. His avoidance of the dynamic and visually exciting is the result of a consistent and well-thought-out personal attitude.





Cat. no. 31



Manuscripts with inscriptions to Nar Singh:

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1589 or earlier  
British Library, London

PUBLISHED: *Suleiman*, pl. 23.

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

*Khamsa* of Nizami

Dated 1595  
British Library, London

*Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Dated 1597–98  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore  
PUBLISHED: Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought*, fig. 29.

*Babur-nama*

Dated 1597–98  
National Museum of India, New Delhi

*Gulistan* of Sa'di

Circa 1600  
Dispersed page in the Cincinnati Art Museum

*Nafabat al-Uns*

Dated 1603  
British Library, London

*Khamsa* of Mir Ali Shir Nava'i

Early 17th century  
Royal Library, Windsor

*Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604  
British Library, London, and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin  
PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, vol. 2, pl. 36; Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 182b.

10d MU'WAYYAD PUT TO  
DEATH IN THE ICE

From the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*  
Circa 1592–94  
41.8 × 24.6 cm. (16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)  
Ex-collection: Ajit Ghose  
31.28

The Caliph al-Mu'tazz (r. 866–69) feared the ambitions of his brother Mu'wayyad and ordered his murder. The related portion of the text on this page reads:

After some days, Mu'wayyad was brought out of prison and Mu'tazz ordered that he be treated violently and be repudiated by all. Afterwards he was

sent back to prison. Later it came to Mu'tazz' attention that the Turks were planning to have Mu'wayyad released from prison and would demand that Mu'tazz give him his allegiance. Immediately Mu'tazz had him brought out from prison, bound hand and foot, and thrown into the snow, with water poured on him. After which a carefully selected court of learned doctors sat in judgement on this cruel deed, but gave an opinion that it was through his own stubbornness that he came to a natural death.

Additional Dispersed Pages from the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*

The identification of subject matter for the known pages is difficult, as there are frequently several episodes related on one page and the illustrations are not always carefully coordinated with the text. In the list below, pages are in approximate sequential order, arranged by the reign dates under which the events occur.

Harun ar-Rashid (r. 786–809)

Recto: *Yahya-ibn-Barmaki Enthroned*  
Verso: *Harun ar-Rashid with Counselors*  
Formerly Heeramanek Collection

Above: *Harun ar-Rashid's Wife Dreams She Will Die before Morning*

Below: *The Caliph Visits the Ka'aba*  
Formerly Collection of H. A. N. Medd

PUBLISHED: Wilkinson and Gray, "Mughal Miniatures," fig. 15A.

al-Amin (r. 809–13)

*Amin Proclaims His Son's Name in the Public Prayers*  
National Museum of India, New Delhi

PUBLISHED: Wilkinson and Gray, "Mughal Miniatures," fig. 15B.

al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33)

*An Attack on Tahir*  
Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 7, 1980, lot 84.

*al-Ma'mun Receives Homage*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: *Binney Collection*, no. 16.

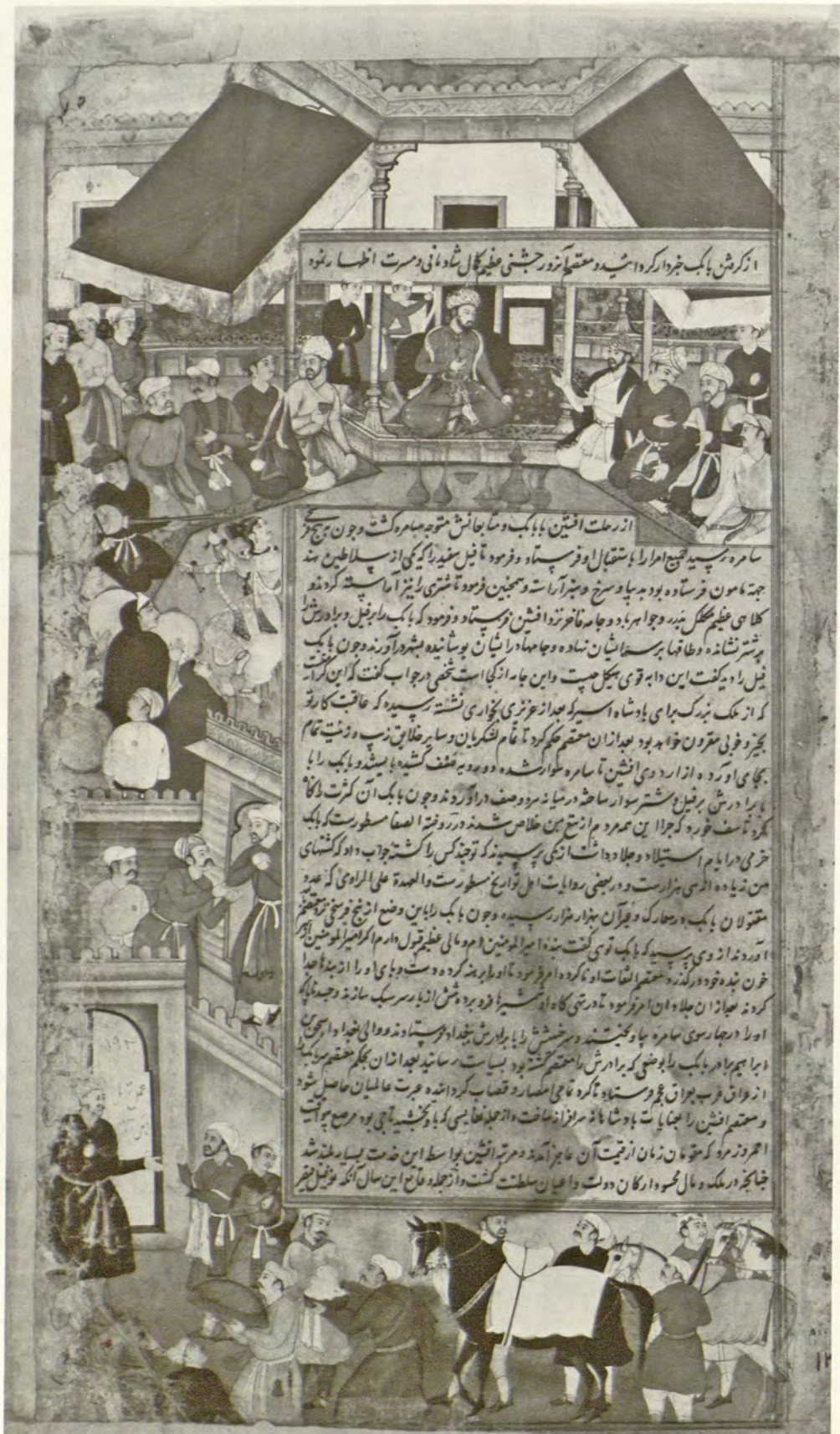
al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61)

*A Hailstorm and the Destruction of Antioch*  
Cleveland Museum of Art

PUBLISHED: *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 19, no. 6 (June 1932): 95–97.

*al-Mutawakkil Destroys the Tomb of Husayn*  
British Museum, London





از رحلت اقلین با بابک و سایر جانشینان متوجه سامه رگشت و چون به چرخ  
 سامه رسیدند جمیع اعدا را با استقبال او فرستاد و فرمود تا فیلسوف را یکی از سلاطین هند  
 جهت مأمون فرستاده بود و در میان سرخ و نیز آراسته و همچنین فرمود تا شمیری را نیز آراسته کرده و  
 کلاهی عظیم محکم بند و جواهر بود و جامه فاخر تر از افشین فرستاد و فرمود که بابک را بر فیض و برادرش  
 بر سر نشاند و طاقچه بر سر ایشان نهاده و جامه های ایشان پوشانیده بشود و از در و چون بابک  
 فیض را دید گفت این دایه قوی بیکل چیست و این جامه ای است شخصی در جواب گفت که این گرامی  
 که از ملک بزرگ برای پادشاه اسپهبد که بعد از غزنی بخاری نشسته رسید که عاقبت کار و  
 بخیر و خوبی مقرون خواهد بود بعد از آن معتمد حکم کرد تا تمام لشکریان و سایر خلائق زین و زینت تمام  
 بجای آورده از اردوی افشین تا سامه مبارکشده و در دیه عطف گشیده باشند و بابک را با  
 برادرش بر فیض و شتر سوار ساخته در میان مرد و صف در آورده و چون بابک آن کثرت را  
 کرد تا صف خورده که جز این محرم و مانع بین خلاص شدند در وقت العشاء مسطورست که بابک  
 خرمی در ایام استیلا و جلاد داشت از یکی پرسیدند که تو چند کسی را کشته جواب داد که کشتنهای  
 من زیاد از این می باشد و در بعضی روایات اهل تاریخ مسطورست و العبد علی المرامی که عدد  
 مقتولان بابک و حاکم و قتل آن هزار هزار رسید و چون بابک را باین وضع از پنج فرسخی فرستادند  
 آوردند از وی پرسید که تو کی کشته شدی امیر المؤمنین (ع) علی علیه السلام دارم اگر بفرمایند  
 خون بنده خود و کشته مقتولان او را کرده ام فرمود تا او را بریز کرده و دست و پای او را از بند جدا  
 کرده بعد از آن جلادان او فرمود تا در تنی کاه از شیشه را فرو برده و شش از بار سبک سازند و جبهه پاک  
 او را در چهار سوی سامه بیاورند و سرش را با بارش بیدار و بر ستاده و دایره ای از اعدا و  
 ابراهیم را در بابک را بوضع که برادرش را معتمد کشته بود بسیارست رسانید بعد از آن بیکم معتمد سر را  
 از فوق قرب بران بچرخستاده و کاه تاجی ملصق و قصاب گردانده و جرت عالمیان حاصل شود  
 و معتمد افشین را باینکه پادشاه را از فرزند داشت و از جمله های کسی که باو بخشیده بای بود مرصع پو آید  
 امروزه که موعود زمان از غایت آن عاجز آمده و در تیره افشین بواسطه این خدمت بسیار شده  
 چنانچه در ملک و مال محمود ارکان دولت و اعیان سلطنت گشت و از جمله قانع این سال آنکه فیض بفر





Cat. no. 10d

PUBLISHED: Gray, "An Early Mughal Illuminated Page," pp. 149–51 and p1. XLIX; *BM* 1976, no. 53; Wilkinson and Gray, "Mughal Miniatures," fig. 15D.

*The Caliph's Governor Condemns a Captive*  
Inscribed to Sarwan

Formerly Ghose Collection, Calcutta

PUBLISHED: Wilkinson and Gray, "Mughal Miniatures," fig. 15C.

*al-Mutawakkil Inquires about a Debt*  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Recto: *al-Mutawakkil Kills Muhammad ibn Baiis ibn Jalis*

Verso: *Anbakh Dies of Dehydration*  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

PUBLISHED: Heeramanek, no. 196.

*al-Mustain* (r. 862–66)

*The Caliph's Army Sent against the People of Hams*  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

*al-Mu'tazz* (r. 866–69)

*al-Mu'tazz Sends Gifts to Abdulla ibn Abdulla*  
Art Institute of Chicago

In addition, there is an otherwise unidentified battle scene from the manuscript in the Seattle Art Museum (PUBLISHED: Seattle Art Museum, *Asiatic Art* [Seattle, 1973], p1. 38).

#### NOTES

1. *Badaoni*, p. 310.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 327–28.
3. *A'in*, p. 113.
4. *Badaoni*, p. 328.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 406–7.
8. See commentary for catalogue number 10b.

## The *Jami al-Tawarikh* (or *Chingiz-nama*)

The great Muslim historian Rashid al-Din (1247–1313) was a man of such eminence and power that he established virtual factories for the translation, copying, and embellishment of books of his own works; and he set up a fund so that Persian and Arabic copies of these texts might be distributed to the major cities of the Muslim world. His *Jami al-Tawarikh* (History of the World) was finished in 1310 (although an earlier version, datable to 1307, is also known). It was divided into four sections. The first gave a general description of the Mongol and Turkish tribes, but concentrated on Genghis Khan (r. 1206–27) and his ancestors and successors down to Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304), Rashid al-Din's initial patron; the second was a history of those people with whom the Mongols came into contact but was preceded by an account of Oljeitu (r. 1304–16), Ghazan Khan's successor; the third was a genealogy of the prophets and the ruling houses of the Arabs, Jews, Mongols, Franks ("Westerners"), and Chinese; and finally there was a general geographic description of the entire world as it was then understood.<sup>1</sup>

Several Iranian illustrated *Jami al-Tawarikh* manuscripts are known.<sup>2</sup> Identified pages from this Akbar-period copy relate to the second half of the first section, the history of Genghis Khan, specifically known as the *Kitab-i-Chingiz-nama* (Book of the History of Genghis), and Abu'l Fazl mentions it under this name in the *A'in-i-Akbari*.<sup>3</sup> The implication is thus that this should not be considered part of a full *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

A related manuscript, which is probably the *Majma al-Tawarikh* of Hafiz-i-Abru, an expansion of the





Cat. no. 11

*Jami-al-Tawarikh* made in 1423 for Sultan Baisunghur at Herat, is in the Raza Library, Rampur. The majority of the illustrations seem contemporary with the writing of the text and relate strongly to a well-known copy of the work dispersed in many museums and private collections.<sup>4</sup> Several pages, however, are Mughal additions—the original paintings are very badly worn—of about 1600.

REFERENCES: Gray and Godard, *Iran: Persian Miniatures*, pp. 22–25, pls. XXIX–XXXIV; Marek and Knizkova; J. A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York, 1971).

## 11 KUBLAI KHAN AND HIS EMPRESS ENTHRONED

From the *Jami al-Tawarikh* (or *Chingiz-nama*)  
Designed and with portraits by Kesu Kalan;  
painted by Kamali Chela  
Dated 1596  
35.2 × 22.1 cm. (13 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.); 38.8 × 25.3  
cm. (15 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 10 in.)  
Ex-collection: Kevorkian  
54.31

Colorplate, p. 52

The identification of the subject is tentative, for the text seems to be unspecific, discussing Genghis Khan, his eldest son Juji, and Kublai Khan (r. 1259–94) and his sons. A characteristic of the manuscript is the careful relationship of illustration and text (compare this page, for example, to cat. no. 9, from the first *Akbar-nama* in which the text decapitates the figure at the lower edge of the page). In this and its general style, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* is most comparable to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (cat. no. 10a–d).

## KESU KALAN

Kesu Kalan (Kesu the Elder, whose name is alternately written Kesu and Kesu Das) was one of the greatest of Akbar's artists and is placed just following Basawan in the list of painters that Abu'l Fazl gives in the *A'in-i-Akbari* (see page 24). He is best known for his copies and adaptations of European prints, and this interest, in turn, affected his work on the major Akbari manuscripts. In the *Darab-nama*, for example, is a scene identified by Norah Titley as *The Water-Maiden's Husband Tearing Their Children's Bodies Apart*, in which a frontal male nude is modeled in such a way that the figure has a weight and mass unparalleled in other work of the period.

At the time of the *Razm-nama*, Kesu was already an important artist. He worked unassisted on three illustrations and designed four others (three of which were completed by the young Miskin); he also executed a design by Daswanth, Akbar's greatest painter. While hardly rivaling in quantity the thirty-eight illustrations designed by Lal for the manuscript, his talent was clearly acknowledged. In the Jaipur *Ramayana*, which followed immediately the *Razm-nama* project, Kesu's assignments were increased, and by the time of the first *Akbar-nama*, he was the third most important designer. Only two illustrations in the Tehran section of this *Jami al-Tawarikh* manuscript are designed by Kesu. This, plus the rather conservative character of the Freer page and Kesu's absence from the other major manuscripts of the mid-1590s, suggests that his career ended early in that decade.

As with the portrait by Basawan in the circa 1590 *Akbar-nama* page included here (cat. no. 9), it is difficult to assess fairly a major artist's style by his designs or portraits for works executed by others. At his best, however, Kesu is a brilliant technician and an innovative adaptor of European ideas. A recent article on his career and on European influences in particular, a discussion we will not repeat here, is listed below.

REFERENCES: M. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Kesu Das," *Archives of Asian Art* 30 (1976–77): 34–52.



Manuscripts with inscriptions to Kesu Kalan:

*Darab-nama*

Circa 1580

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Beach, "Mughal Painter Kesu Das," fig. 15.

*Razm-nama*

Circa 1582–86

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

PUBLISHED: Beach, "Mughal Painter Kesu Das," fig. 16.

See figs. 5–6

*Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore

*Ramayana*

Circa 1584–89

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Harivamsa*

Circa 1585

Dispersed

See cat. no. 6

*Khamsa* of Nizami

Circa 1585

Keir Collection

PUBLISHED: Robinson, ed., *Keir*, no. V.25.

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: BM 1976, no. 44.

*Baharistan* of Jami

Dated 1595

Bodleian Library, Oxford

PUBLISHED: Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 88.

*Diwan* of Shahi

Circa 1595

Private collection

PUBLISHED: Beach, "Mughal Painter Kesu Das," fig. 4.

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

See cat. no. 11

KAMALI

For a discussion of the artist, see page 153.

Additional Dispersed Pages from the *Jami al-Tawarikh*

A volume of 304 folios (of an average size of 33 × 24 cm.) with 98 illustrations exists in the former Imperial Library, Tehran; and a colophon (which is reportedly now missing) evidently stated that the work was completed on the twenty-seventh day of Ramadan, A.H. 1004 (May 25, 1596).

Known dispersed pages, which were originally removed from the Tehran volume, are listed below. As the text has never been properly analyzed, the identifications are sometimes tentative, and the pages are arranged in approximate sequence according to reign dates.

Genghis Khan and His Successors

*Genghis Khan* [r. 1206–27] *Halting at the Indus after the Defeat of Jalal-al-din*

Designed by Dharm Das, painted by Banwari Khurd  
Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, April 22, 1980, lot 33.

*Lament at the Bier of Alan Qu'a*

Designed by Basawan

Kunstgewerbe Museum, Leipzig

REPRODUCED: Schulz, *Die Persische-Islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), 2: T. 194; Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 216.

*Genghiz Khan Dividing His Kingdom among His Sons*

Designed by Basawan, painted by Bhim Gujarati

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PUBLISHED: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall 1978): 42.

*Tayang Khan Presented with the Head of Ong Khan*

Designed by Miskin, painted by Kesu Khurd

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, April 22, 1980, lot 32.

*Mangu Khan* [r. 1248–59] *and Rebels*

Designed by Tulsi, painted by Bris

Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd

PUBLISHED: *Binney Collection*, no. 17.

*Kublai Khan* [r. 1259–94] *Fighting Ahmad Fanakati*

Designed by Basawan, painted by Nand Gwaliori, with portraits by Madhu

Kraus Collection

PUBLISHED: Grube, *Islamic Painting*, no. 229.

*Turkish Prisoners before Timur* [r. 1369–1405]

Painted by Dharm Das

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PUBLISHED: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (December 1935): 250.



*The Troops at Timur*

Designed and painted by Tulsi, with portraits by Madhu

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

PUBLISHED: *Heeramanek*, no. 202a.

The Ilkhanid Rulers of Iran

*Siege of the Fort at Alamut by Hulagu Khan* [r. 1256–65]

Designed by Basawan, painted by Nand Gwaliori  
Present location unknown, formerly Demotte Collection

PUBLISHED: Staude, "Contribution à l'étude de Basawan," fig. 3.

*The Capture of Baghdad by Hulagu Khan*

Designed by Miskin, painted by Asi, with portraits by Khem Karan

Cincinnati Art Museum

PUBLISHED: W. Staude, "Les Artistes de la Cour d'Akbar," fig. 5.

*Siege in the Wars of Hulagu Khan*

Designed and painted by Khem Karan

St. Louis Art Museum

*Abaqa Khan* [r. 1265–81] *Enthroned*

Designed and with portraits by Farrukh, painted by Ali Quli

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, October 14, 1980, lot 239.

*The Mourning of Abaqa Khan's Death*

Designed by Makand, painted by Banwari Kalan

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, October 14, 1980, lot 240.

*The Birth of Ghazan Khan* [r. 1295–1304]

Designed by Basawan, with portraits by Dharm Das

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: Staude, "Contribution à l'étude de Basawan," fig. 4.

Miscellaneous<sup>5</sup>

*Sultan Mahmud* [r. 998–1030] *Storms the Fort of Bhim in Ghazni*

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, April 13, 1976, lot 23.

*Sultan Mahmud by a River after a Tiger Hunt*

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 7, 1975, lot 14.

*Babram Gur Hunting*

Designed and painted by Ali Quli

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 1: 47 and 3: pl. 87.

*Khusrau at a Drinking Party*

Designed and painted by Ali Quli

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 1: 47 and 3: pl. 88.

*Musta'sim and His Three Sons Visit Malaku Khan*

Designed and painted by Tulsi Khurd, with portraits by Sanwlah

St. Louis Art Museum

*Siege of the City of Arbela*

Designed by Basawan, painted by Sur Das Gujarati  
Cleveland Museum of Art

*Three Young Princes within the Harem Enclosures*

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

PUBLISHED: *Heeramanek*, no. 202b.

An additional page is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 60, no. 1).

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the various arrangements of the text, see J. A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghiz Khan* (New York, 1971), pp. 7–10.
2. See especially David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray, *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashid al-din* (Edinburgh, 1976); and Basil Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-din* (London, 1978).
3. *A'in*, p. 115.
4. Ernst Grube, *Muslim Miniature Painting* (Venice, 1962), pp. 51–56.
5. The first four works listed here are tentatively assigned to the manuscript, with which they are consistent in size, general format, and subject.

The circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*

If the second *Akbar-nama* manuscript now known lacks the vitality and experimentalism of its predecessor, it is certainly a more epicurean and truly imperial production overall. The first portion of the work was acquired by the British Library in 1966; it then reappeared publicly for the first time since 1912 when it was exhibited in London by the bookseller Bernard Quaritch. A second, somewhat larger section had been bought earlier in 1923 by Sir Chester Beatty, and the manuscript had thus come to be termed the Chester Beatty *Akbar-nama*. Many dispersed pages are also known in various public and private collections. Unlike the folios separated from the first *Akbar-nama*, which represent a missing vol-



ume, these dispersed pages were removed from various parts in the existing sections. Several of the illustrations (cat. nos. 12a–c and 12e–f) were later mounted within borders of a Persian lexicon, the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*, dated 1608.

The British Library portion, which corresponds to volume one of Abu'l Fazl's text, covers events up to the death of Humayun in 1556, while the Beatty section begins with Akbar's coronation and ends in March 1589. On folio 134b of the London volume, a marginal notation dates the illustration to January 25, 1604, and, from what we know of Mughal book production, it seems likely that the Beatty pages were made somewhat later, almost certainly extending beyond the beginning of Jahangir's reign on October 15, 1605. The manuscript may have been begun about the time of Abu'l Fazl's death in 1602.

Many of the painters are men who had worked on the *Razm-nama* and *Timur-nama* manuscripts; and Lal, once again, is given the largest assignment, thirteen folio illustrations. In the Beatty volume, however, contemporary inscriptions record the names of several painters who did not work on the earlier section (e.g., Balchand, Daulat, Dhanraj, Padarath), while others, such as Govardhan or Manohar, make substantially increased contributions. These painters were particularly responsive to Jahangir's taste, and it is possible that their greater involvement was a result of the prince's return to Agra in 1604.

REFERENCES: *Beatty Library*, 1: 4–12 and 2: pls. 6–37; G. M. Meredith-Owens, "The British Museum Manuscript of the Akbarnameh," *Burlington Magazine* 109: 94; *Titley Miniatures*, no. 11.

## 12a THE YOUNG AKBAR RECOGNIZES HIS MOTHER

From the *Akbar-nama*

Circa 1604

12.9 × 12 cm. (5 1/8 × 4 3/4 in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramanek

39.57

*Detail, p. 15*

In 1545 Humayun arranged an entertainment:

It occurred to his Majesty Jahanbani [Humayun] that he should make manifest to great and small the touchstone-capability of the Shahinshah [Akbar], from whose brow there streamed while yet of tender years, thousands of rays of light divine. He therefore arranged a princely festival in the pavilions of chastity [the harem]. All the great ladies attended in the gymnasium. For the instruction of the spectators his Majesty the Shahinshah was brought in on the shoulder of respect and placed on the auspicious Divan, and in conformity with orders her Majesty Mariam-Makani entered in the train of the other ladies, and without



Cat. no. 12a

being distinguished in any way. The design of the king was that the prince should single out his honoured mother from the crowd of ladies. By light divine his Majesty, without difficulty, hesitation, or mistake, and in virtue of his abiding intelligence and innate discernment took refuge with his saintly mother, and put himself into her arms. On beholding this glorious act—surprising to the minds of the superficial who are swayed by what is usual—a shout arose among the spectators, and they recognised the power of the eternally-nourished one, and prodigy of fate's worship. All perceived that this was not the work of the bodily senses which put a difference between childhood and adolescence. Rather it was nought but spiritual intuition and Divine teaching. "Twas holy light breaking forth from its ambushes by the instrumentality of this nursling of Fortune's garden."<sup>1</sup>

The illustration is number 31 in the British Library volume.





Cat. no. 12b



## 12b THE SUBMISSION OF BAIRAM KHAN

From the *Akbar-nama*

Attributed here to Dharm Das

Circa 1604

24.2 × 12.9 cm. (9½ × 5⅛ in.); 42.1 × 27.7  
cm. (16¾ × 10⅞ in.)

Ex-collection: Kelekian

52.33

*Detail, p. 106*

Just before his death, Humayun appointed Bairam Khan to be Akbar's guardian, and once the prince had ascended the throne, Bairam virtually ruled the country. His personal power coupled with his religious affiliation (he was a Shiite Muslim, whereas the majority of the court was Sunni) produced enormous antagonism, especially among those with ambitions of their own. Maham Anga, Akbar's former nurse, and her son, Adham Khan, for example, took advantage of Akbar's eventual wish for his own political independence and power by separating him from Bairam Khan and encouraging him to send his mentor to Mecca on pilgrimage. Bairam departed the capital, but Mughal troops insultingly chased him along and he rebelled. Captured and brought before the young emperor, Bairam Khan professed his loyalty:

He (Bairam) turned his face towards the sublime court, and . . . flung a handkerchief round his neck and made the prostration of shame and contrition. He laid his dust strewn head at the sphere-traversing feet of H.M. the Shahinshah, partly with pain, partly with shame for his crimes, and partly with joy at his pardon, and wept aloud. His Majesty the Shahinshah accepted his excuses, and with his sacred hand raised Bairam Khan's head from the ground of humiliation and embraced him.<sup>2</sup>

The elder man was again sent off, however, but was killed enroute by a longtime personal enemy in 1561. His son, Abd ar-Rahim (cat. no. 18a), was brought to court and educated by Akbar, becoming Khan Khanan. For his role as literary patron see page 134.

This is one of the three missing illustrations numbered 68–70 in the Beatty manuscript.

### DHARM DAS

The circa 1604 *Akbar-nama* was executed at an important and transitional time, and it helps chart the change from Akbar's taste to that of Jahangir. Several major Akbari painters (e.g., Basawan or Kesu the Elder) were no longer active, their years of service ending just at the time the project was initiated. Others who were particularly sensitive to Jahangir's interests (such as Balchand, Daulat, and Govardhan) were not yet artistically mature. The majority of the

painters were men trained in the earlier years of Akbar's patronage and were now at the end of long and distinguished careers. Of these, a number were no longer at the height of their powers; Miskin is the best example. Dharm Das, conversely, painted illustrations for the first volume that are in every way as brilliant as his best work in the mid-1590s; while in the Beatty pages, somewhat later in date, he begins to show weaknesses of both control and conception.

In his finest illustrations—the British Library *Khamsa* of Nizami, the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, or the first volume of this *Akbar-nama*—Dharm Das is a superb painter, at his best with spatially and narratively complex scenes. Few artists can evoke so successfully the sense of period and atmosphere given by his interior architectural settings.

He had a distinguished career, his earliest identified works being two double-sided folios in the *Darab-nama*. While compositionally simple and narratively direct, these show his interest in new European techniques for the anatomy and modeling of the nude figure. We can safely assume that Dharm Das had an active career before this manuscript was executed, so smoothly have Mughal style and technique been assimilated. His three pages in the *Timur-nama* were among the minority painted without collaboration, indicating that he was considered—at least potentially—a master artist. They are more developed than the *Darab-nama* illustrations and show his penchant for fleshy faces and particularly full and rounded cheeks, a distinctive trademark throughout his subsequent works.

With the exception of the *Timur-nama* pages, his other collaborative works—until the early 1590s—were the execution of designs made by others, and here he worked with only the greatest artists. Two of them, Basawan and Kesu, were especially noted for their interest in European prints—which Dharm Das continued—while the third, Farrukh Beg, was an émigré from Iran, whose style never fully conformed to mainstream Mughal tradition. Farrukh Beg was, however, a master of technical control and surface design. By the time of the 1596 *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Dharm Das not only designed at least four folios, he executed “special portraits” on five.

He was given assignments in the major imperial manuscripts of the 1590s and shows there his interest in figures in motion, modeling of cloth and drapery, and carefully observed character types. These are the concerns of Basawan as well, but Dharm Das never utilizes Basawan's softness of line, and even in this decade most of his subsidiary figures (with the exception of particularly inspiring eccentrics) remain recognizable types rather than true individuals.

By the later stages of the second *Akbar-nama*, Dharm Das seems no longer able to sustain the intensity found in his earlier paintings. Compositions





Detail of cat. no. 12b

are quieter—this, of course, is the general fashion—but the figures are often heavy, with angular gestures, and the trait of facial fullness and rounded cheeks is sometimes exaggerated. We see this in the detail illustrated here. There is often, also, a carelessness about portraiture, as seen in the rather nondescript depiction of Akbar. Nevertheless, this remains a lively, rich illustration—a perfect summation of the traditional aspects of later Akbar-period painting.

Manuscripts with inscriptions to Dharm Das:

*Darab-nama*

Circa 1580

British Library, London

*Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore

*Ramayana*

Circa 1584–89

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Khamsa* of Nizami

Circa 1585

Keir Collection

PUBLISHED: Robinson, ed., *Keir*, no. V.15.

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought*, fig. 22.



*Laila-Majnun*

Circa 1590

Bodleian Library, Oxford

PUBLISHED: *Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Periods*,  
Bodleian Picture Books, no. 9 (Oxford, 1953), pl. 7.

*Iyar-i-Danish*

Circa 1590

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 2: pl. 43.

*Khamsa of Nizami*

Dated 1595

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 180; S.  
C. Welch, "The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizami,"  
*Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 23 (1960): fig. 4.

*Anwar-i-Subaili*

Dated 1596

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: *Marek and Knizkova*, pls. 4, 22.

*Khamsa of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi*

Dated 1597-98

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Wal-  
ters Art Gallery, Baltimore

*Gulistan of Sa'di*

Circa 1600

Dispersed page in the Cincinnati Art Museum

*Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604

British Library, London, and Chester Beatty Library,  
Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 2: pls. 20, 22-23, 32, 35  
(see also the list of dispersed pages given here).

Cat. no. 12b

*Kulliyat of Sa'di*

Circa 1604

Private collection

*Anwar-i-Subaili*

Dated 1604-10

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Lights of Canopus*  
(London, 1929), pls. XXI, XXVI.

12c

## THE PUNISHMENT OF KHWAJA MU'AZZAM

From the *Akbar-nama*

Attributed here to Farrukh

Circa 1604

23.1 × 12.5 cm. (9 1/8 × 4 7/8 in.)

Ex-collection: Kelekian

52.32

*Illustration, p. 108; detail, p. 109*

The Khwaja was Akbar's half-uncle and, says Abu'l  
Fazl, "committed wickedness upon wickedness." One  
day

he went, full of wrath, to the female apartments, and  
drawing his dagger killed Zahra Agha who had just  
come from the bath and was robing herself in the  
dressing room. In this way he provided for himself a  
supply of eternal destruction. Then he put his head  
out of the window and flung the blood-stained dagger  
to where Dastam Khan was standing and cried out  
with a loud voice, "I have shed her blood, go and  
tell." . . . When H.M. the Shahinshah heard of this  
outrage he boiled over with indignation and entered  
the house of the villain . . . and asked the Khwaja for  
what fault he had shed the unfortunate woman's  
blood. The monster opened his mouth and uttered  
delirious ravings till at length they silenced him by  
blows and kicks. Dragging him by the hair and kick-  
ing him they brought him to the river. The tide of  
wrath foamed up in the ocean of justice, and in ac-  
cordance with orders, the servants, who were always  
the boon-companions of his violence and frenzy, were  
bound neck and hand and immersed in the whirlpool  
of retribution. Though they dipped the wretch in the  
river he showed the tenacity of life and did not cease  
his ravings. . . . He was made over to Maqbil Khan  
who sent him to Gwalior where he was imprisoned.  
Melancholia took possession of him there, and he  
died of a disordered brain.<sup>3</sup>

This illustration comes from a group of nine, numbers  
86-94, missing from the Beatty manuscript.

### FARRUKH

By the end of the 1590s, the most avant-garde ele-  
ments of Mughal taste demanded an intense natural-  
ism in which artists' styles were seemingly subservient  
to the objective characteristics of their subjects; look-  
ing at a painting of a shawl or skirt, for example, was  
like looking at an actual cloth, and portraits seem to  
have the presence and personality of the individuals  
shown. Younger painters were usually the most suc-  
cessful in developing this new style (see, for example,  
cat. no. 12d by Manohar), older artists having long  
worked in a more general, idealized manner that was  
hard to put aside. Technical change alone could not  
handle the new demands. The interest in individuality  
necessitated a completely new attitude toward the  
human figure. The careers of several painters, there-





Cat. no. 12c





Detail of cat. no. 12c

fore, ended or declined, while others simply continued to paint in the well-established but now somewhat old-fashioned manner. Others, and Farrukh—known also as Farrukh Chela—is a prime example, developed extremely personal mannerisms, expressed through unorthodox, easily recognizable character types and eccentricities of composition. Catalogue number 12c is a late work by the painter, while catalogue number 16c is datable to circa 1590 (although it was placed in its present album in the early seventeenth century). The works well exemplify two aspects of his style.

Farrukh's earliest known paintings are contained in the *Darab-nama*, *Timur-nama*, and *Razm-nama* manuscripts and are relatively straightforward, narrative scenes in the mainstream Mughal style. Only in the *Timur-nama* do we glimpse some of the traits he would later emphasize: extremely distorted (rather than merely naïve) perspectives; architecture that

seems to have no depth or substance (which we see still in cat. no. 12c); strong, dark lines outlining landscape forms (as in the mountains of cat. no. 16c); and water moving against steep vertical embankments dynamically placed in the compositional space.

By 1590 his work has become more distinctive. As in the superb *Chained Elephant* (cat. no. 16c), he is capable of considerable technical finesse, which—coupled here with pale colors that enhance the naturally golden tones of the paper—produces a particularly luxurious effect. A major series of such elephant studies is attributable to Farrukh, and they are among his best work;<sup>4</sup> another is reproduced here (fig. 12). There are notable eccentricities too, however. In the background mountains of the *Chained Elephant* (see detail of cat. no. 16c) roots extend into space from the overhanging ridge at the left, while on the right a tree is growing upside down. By the *Anwar-i-Subhaili* manuscript of 1596, the light and





Fig. 12. *A Chained Elephant*. From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*. Attributed here to Farrukh, circa 1590. Former Imperial Library, Tehran.

fancifully piled mountains of catalogue number 16c have become towering, seemingly inflated forms that evoke a fantasy realm, an effect increased by wildly improbable colors. His manuscript illustrations of the mid-1590s are more complex than are the elephant studies and reveal the difficulties he had in later years with the human figure. Blatantly distorted faces and expressions and odd angles reveal him as a highly idiosyncratic painter. In the Amir Khusrau Dihlavi manuscript of 1597–98, the sure control of his earlier works was replaced by looser compositions, and figures have strangely leering faces and less graceful proportions. These traits continue further in the second *Akbar-nama*. Farrukh presented human forms as highly modeled but broadly defined shapes that bestow drama but not individuality (see detail of cat. no. 12c). Compare the portraits here with those in catalogue number 12g by his contemporary Manohar.

Like many of his compatriots, he is known to have studied European prints.<sup>5</sup>

Several related paintings are signed by Kanak (or Ganga) Singh (Chela).<sup>6</sup> Those in the 1590s are so identical in every way with Farrukh's style in those years that any further investigation of Farrukh's work must consider the relationship between these two names.

REFERENCES: Anand Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist: Farrukh Chela," *Chhavi* 1: 353–73.

Manuscripts with inscriptions to Farrukh Chela:

*Darab-nama*

Circa 1580

British Library, London

Marginal inscriptions on two illustrations (fols. 92b and 93b) have been read as Farrukh Chela, although the form of the name is unusual. Paintings on folios 32a–b and 84b are inscribed to Farrukh Khurd, who Anand Krishna convincingly relates to Farrukh.

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist," figs. 516–17.

*Razm-nama*

Circa 1582–86

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist," figs. 518, 527.

*Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist," figs. 520–21.

*Diwan of Hafiz*

Circa 1588

Raza Library, Rampur

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist," pl. 32.

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist," fig. 522.

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1591

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist," fig. 524; *Suleiman*, pl. 7.

*Khamsa of Nizami*

Dated 1595

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist," figs. 528–30.



*Anwar-i-Suhaili*

Dated 1596

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist,"  
pl. 31; *Welch AMI*, no. 10.

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: *Marek and Knizkova*, pl. 8.

*Khamisa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Dated 1597-98

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Wal-  
ters Art Gallery, Baltimore

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist,"  
fig. 533 (where it is misidentified).

*Babur-nama*

Dated 1597-98

National Museum of India, New Delhi

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist,"  
fig. 532.

*Gulistan* of Sa'di

Dated 1600

Dispersed page in the Cincinnati Art Museum

*Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604

British Library, London, and Chester Beatty Library,  
Dublin

PUBLISHED: Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist,"  
figs. 534-35; *Beatty Library*, 2: pl. 15.

*Kulliyat* of Sa'di

Circa 1604

Private collection

An additional page from an unidentified manuscript  
is in the Art Institute of Chicago (1919.951).

12d MUGHAL TROOPS CHASE  
THE ARMIES OF DA'UD

From the *Akbar-nama*

By Manohar

Circa 1604

24.1 × 12.6 cm. (9<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.), including text;  
43.1 × 27.9 cm. (17 × 11 in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

54.30

*Detail, p. 113; colorplate, p. 54*

Da'ud, an Afghan, was the ruler of Bengal and Bihar.  
"A dissolute fellow . . . (with) no experience of af-  
fairs,"<sup>7</sup> he assumed the title of *padshah* (reserved for  
Akbar alone) and was forced to fight imperial troops.

A battle ensued and in a short space of time the en-  
emy was driven off, and the victors proceeded against

the centre. At this time, when the battle hung in the  
balance between the Rajah [Todar Mal, Akbar's gen-  
eral] and Da'ud, the right wing of the imperial army  
appeared, and the enemy became disconcerted.  
Though Da'ud had heard of the defeat of the van-  
guard . . . of the imperialists, the might of the Shahin-  
shah's fortune made him regard this as a trick of ex-  
perienced soldiers, and so he abode in the stony place  
of cowardice till this army (the imperial right wing)  
arrived. The ingrate became shameless and fled to the  
desert of destruction. . . . The victorious soldiers fol-  
lowed with drawn swords. Many of the wretched slept  
the sleep of annihilation, and the plain became a tulip-  
garden from the blood of the slain.<sup>8</sup>

This illustration has not been remounted but remains  
in its original state and is inscribed with the artist's  
name and the number 137. It forms a pair with num-  
ber 138, also by Manohar, which is still bound in the  
manuscript.

Cat. no. 12d





# MANOHAR

Manohar is among the most brilliant and prolific Mughal painters. In his early years he must have worked very closely with his father, Basawan, for both men were among the most perceptive portraitists of their time, and each copied and adapted (sometimes the same) European prints. If we compare the detail of catalogue number 12d, by Manohar, to similar sections from other contemporary *Akbar-nama* pages, it is clear that Manohar's figures have far more individuality than those of the older painter Dharm Das (see detail of cat. no. 12b), for example, or of his closer contemporary, Hiranand (see cat. no. 12e). As well, he delights in movement. In catalogue number 12c the men are posed in a variety of attitudes, but in catalogue number 12d, by Manohar, the movement seems organic, creating a sense of inner vitality and increasing the effect of physical presence.

Manohar's earliest work may be a portrait of a scribe, included in a *Gulistan* of Sa'di, dated 1581. He is credited also with portraits in a *Timur-nama* page otherwise executed by Nand Gwaliori, with the execution of a design by his father in the *Khamsa* of Nizami of circa 1585 and a single Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nama* page designed by Makand. This is a modest series of assignments, but if—as seems likely judging by two self-portraits<sup>9</sup>—Manohar was born in the late 1560s, he would still have been extraordinarily young in the eighties. These were doubtless commissions arranged by his father, and they are closely dependent on Basawan's style. By about 1590, however, he was given illustrations in the Rampur *Diwan* of Hafiz and the British Library *Babur-nama*—the most important manuscripts of the period, upon which he worked unaided. By the mid-1590s, his style is fully mature, and Manohar displays an artistic personality quite distinct from that of Basawan. His drawing is tighter and harder, and his designs stress surface rather than spatial values. We see this as well in a portrait of Sultan Murad, Akbar's youngest son, with a consort (cat. no. 22).

As a study of Manohar has recently been published by Glenn D. Lowry (see below), we refer the reader to that article and to the extensive list of works given there. For comparative reasons, attributions of major Akbari manuscripts to Manohar are repeated here.

REFERENCES: Glenn D. Lowry, "Manohar," in *Beach GM*, pp. 130–37.

Akbar-period manuscripts with inscriptions to Manohar:

*Gulistan* of Sa'di

Dated 1581

Royal Asiatic Society, London

PUBLISHED: A. Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World* (New York, 1979), no. 76.

*Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore

*Khamsa* of Nizami

Circa 1585

Keir Collection

PUBLISHED: Robinson, *ed.*, *Keir*, no. V.26.

*Diwan* of Hafiz

Circa 1588

Raza Library, Rampur

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1591

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Sulaiman, pl. 42.

*Khamsa* of Nizami

Dated 1595

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 178.

*Anwar-i-Suhaili*

Dated 1596

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: Mark and Kniskema, pl. 3.

*Khamsa* of Amir Khusrav Dihlavi

Dated 1597–98

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

PUBLISHED: Grube, *Classical Style*, pl. 94.

*Gulistan* of Sa'di

Circa 1600

Dispersed page in the Cincinnati Art Museum

*Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604

British Library, London, and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: Beatty Library, 2: pls. 15 and 18.

*Khamsa* of Mir Ali Shir Nava'i

Circa 1604

Royal Library, Windsor Castle

PUBLISHED: BM 1978, no. 94a.





Detail of cat. no. 12d





Detail of cat. no. 12e





Cat. no. 12e

12e **DA'UD RECEIVES A ROBE OF HONOR FROM MUN'IM KHAN**

From the *Akbar-nama*

Attributed here to Hiranand

Circa 1604

23.8 × 12.3 cm. (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Kelekian

52.31

*Colorplate, p. 56*

Once overwhelmed, Da'ud, whose adventures we also saw in catalogue number 12d, "... at the advice of tricksters adopted feline stratagems. He turned to entreaties and abjectness and knocked at the door of peace."<sup>10</sup> He was given conditions for his surrender

by Mun'im Khan, who then held the title Khan Khanan.

Da'ud ... gladly accepted everything. ... The banquet of reconciliation was prepared. Previous to this a pleasant spot had been chosen outside of the camp, and been adorned to the admiration of beholders. ... The Khan-Khanan came into the hall of joy ... went to the edge of the carpet to welcome him [Da'ud], and displayed warm affection. Da'ud loosened his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldiering and had made himself over to the sublime court and would do whatever the pillars of empire thought it right for him to do. The Khan-Khanan made him over to his servants, and after a time a splendid *khilat* [a robe given in presentation] was given to him on the part of the threshold of the Caliphate, and a sword and embroidered belt were bound upon his waist. Da'ud with the humblest loyalty turned towards the quarter of the capital and made the prostration of service.<sup>11</sup>

The Afghan's subservience did not last, of course, and in a later battle he was beheaded.

The illustration is one of four numbered 140 to 143 missing from the Beatty volume.

## HIRANAND

We do not have a sufficient range of works attributable to Hiranand to speak confidently of his stylistic development. He evidently painted the portraits on one folio of the 1596 *Jami al-Tawarikh*, but the remainder of his recognized works are datable between 1602 and 1605. *Da'ud Receives a Robe of Honor from Mun'im Khan* is identical in style to his works in the 1603 *Nafahat al-Uns* of Jami and the undated *Kulliyat* of Sa'di and shows the artist fully mature. A second *Akbar-nama* page, the left half of an otherwise unidentified court scene (cat. no. 12f), shows his penchant for large, long faces on the main portraits and only minimal modeling and facial differentiation on the minor figures.

Hiranand must have worked very closely with Dharm Das. Two pages in this *Akbar-nama* (fol. 139a in the British Library portion, reproduced here as fig. 13, and fol. 255 in the Beatty volume, published in *Beatty Library*, pl. 35) are strongly related in style and technique; one is signed by each artist, but it would seem that both worked on each page. A double-page composition showing *The Circumcision of Akbar's Three Sons* is also attributable to the two painters. The volumeless faces and quizzical expressions of Hiranand's lesser characters are easily distinguished from the rounded, bulky types typical of Dharm Das (compare details of cat. nos. 12b and 12e). Both the Freer pages (cat. no. 12e-f), however, seem to be by Hiranand working alone and are among his finest works.





Fig. 13. *Humayun's Troops Plundering Mirza Kamaran's Camp*. From the *Akbar-nama*. By Hiranand, dated 1604. British Library, London (Or. 12988, fol. 139a). Photograph courtesy British Library Board.

Manuscripts with inscriptions to Hiranand:

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

*Nafahat al-Uns*

Dated 1603

British Library, London

The name on folio 39b, published as Miranand (see *Titley Miniatures*, no. 207), should be Hiranand. Folios 271b and (tentatively) 287a are attributed here to Hiranand as well.

*Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604

British Library, London, and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 2: pl. 35.

See cat. no. 12e-f

*Kulliyat of Sa'di*

Circa 1604

Private collection

Folio 74v is inscribed to Hiranand, to whom two additional folios are here attributed.

## 12f COURTIER IN ATTENDANCE

From the *Akbar-nama*

Attributed here to Hiranand

Circa 1604

21.6 × 12.2 cm.; (8½ × 4¾ in.)

Ex-collection: Kelekian

52.34

*Illustration, p. 118*

This is the left half of a double-page composition and the location and subject of the missing portion are unknown.

## 12g AKBAR HEARS A PETITION

From the *Akbar-nama*

Attributed here to Manohar

Circa 1604

26.1 × 14.2 cm. (10½ × 5½ in.); 47.3 × 32.5 cm. (18½ × 12½ in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

60.28

*Illustration, p. 119; details, pp. 17, 23, 29*

An identification of the specific historical episode has not been possible, but of particular interest is the presence of a European at the lower left. The artist Manohar is more fully discussed on page 112.

While the style of the work is that of the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*, the size is notably larger than that of other illustrations known definitely from the manuscript. There are a number of paintings of historical episodes of Akbar's reign that may come from other copies of the text.

## Additional Dispersed Pages from the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*

Two major intact sections of the manuscript are known. The volume in the British Library (Or. 12988) consists of 163 folios (each about 41 × 27





Detail of cat. no. 12f

cm.), with 39 illustrations and a double page with marginal designs (see Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pls. 209–10). The scribe has been identified as Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, Zarrin Qalam. The portion in the Chester Beatty Library (Ms. 3) has 268 folios and 61 paintings. The full page measurement is 42 × 26 cm., with text panels 24 × 12 cm. Both volumes are contained within Iranian lacquer covers dated 1834, and it was probably in Iran that the various missing pages were removed.

Paintings in the two existing *Akbar-nama* volumes are numbered, so that it is possible to tell where the illustrations have been removed. The following list includes the missing illustration numbers and the text passages to which they would relate. Dispersed pages have been identified, whenever possible, and placed within this scheme. Text references are given to Abu'l Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, translated by H. Beveridge. Vols. 1–3. Reprint. (Delhi, 1972–73).

*Akbar-nama*, volume one  
British Library, London

	Text	
Illustration	Reference	Title
9	1: 242–57	Missing
13	1: 285 (?)	<i>Babur Receives News of Humayun's Birth (?)</i> PUBLISHED: Sotheby, December 7, 1970, lot 102.
26	1: 455–56	<i>Akbar Wrestles with Ibrahim Mirza</i> PUBLISHED: Colnaghi 1976, no. 86i.





Cat. no. 12f





Cat. no. 12g



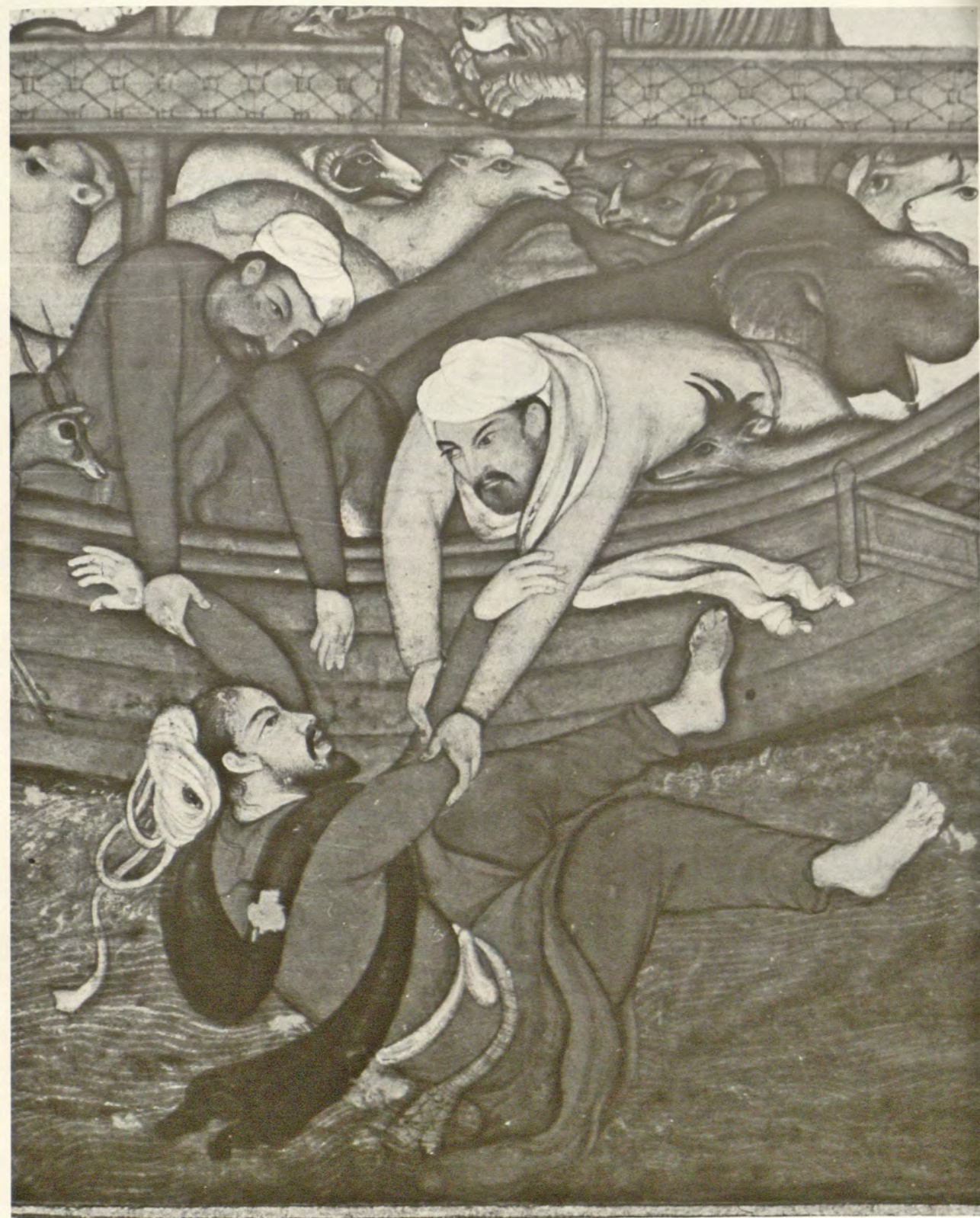
Illustration	Text Reference	Title
31	1: 484-85	See cat. no. 12a
36	1: 525-35	Missing
45	1: 597	<i>Akbar Visits Baba Bilas</i> Chester Beatty Library, Dublin PUBLISHED: <i>Beatty</i> <i>Library</i> , 2: pl. 89.
47-48	1: 597-667	Missing

*Akbar-nama*, volume two  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

59	2: 92-93	<i>Akbar Mounts the Horse</i> <i>Hairan</i> By Lal Cleveland Museum of Art
60-61	2: 93-114	Missing
64-66	2: 114-74	Missing, except for the following:  2: 132 (?) <i>The Battle against Pir</i> <i>Muhammad Khan</i> (?) Formerly Demotte Collection PUBLISHED: Strzygowski, <i>Asiatische</i> <i>Miniaturenmalerei</i> , T. 82, Abb. 221.
68-70	2: 174-86	Missing, except for the following:  2: 181 See cat. no. 12b
74	2: 205-6	<i>Courtiers Await News of</i> <i>Akbar's Health</i> Right half missing
78	2: 219 (?)	<i>The Submission of</i> <i>Adham Khan</i> (?) Attributed here to Nar Singh PUBLISHED: <i>Colnaghi</i> 1976, no. 86iii.
79	2: 237 (?)	<i>Akbar Listening to</i> <i>Minstrels</i> (?) Collection of Philip Hofer

Illustration	Text Reference	Title
82	2: 272	<i>The Death of Adham</i> <i>Khan</i> Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
86-94	2: 300-434	Missing, except for the following:  2: 313 <i>Akbar Attacked at Maham</i> <i>Anaga's Madrassah</i> Formerly Heeramanek Collection
	2: 321	<i>The Execution of Abu'l-</i> <i>Ma'ali</i> Attributed to Miskin Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore PUBLISHED: <i>Beach GM</i> , no. 3.
	2: 337	See cat. no. 12c
	2: 379 (?)	<i>Asaf Khan Presents</i> <i>Offerings</i> (?) Attributed here to Manohar Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
	2: 416-18	<i>Hamid Bhakari Punished</i> <i>by Akbar</i> Attributed here to Manohar Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
	2: 422-23 (?)	<i>Battle of Sannyasis</i> (?) PUBLISHED: <i>Sotheby</i> , April 3, 1978, lot 79.
106	2: 539	<i>Akbar Hunting with</i> <i>Cheetahs</i> Attributed here to Manohar Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
107-8	2: 543-48	<i>The Birth of Sultan</i> <i>Daniyal</i> Right half missing Left half attributed here to Daulat PUBLISHED: <i>Sotheby</i> , December 7, 1971, lot 187A.





Detail of cat. no. 13





Cat. no. 13

Illustration	Text Reference	Title
113-14	3: 21-44	Missing
119	3: 46	<i>An Abyssinian Executed by an Elephant</i> Attributed here to Hiranand Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore PUBLISHED: <i>Beach GM</i> , no. 4.
120-21	3: 46-81	Missing

Illustration	Text Reference	Title
124-29	3: 81-135	Missing, except for the following:
	3: 102-3	<i>The Circumcision of Akbar's Three Sons</i> Right half attributed to Dharm Das Keir Collection PUBLISHED: <i>Robinson, ed., Keir</i> , no. V.51. Left half attributed here to Hiranand Cleveland Museum of Art PUBLISHED: S. C. Welch, "Early Mughal Miniature Paintings from Two Private Collections," <i>Ars Orientalis</i> 3 (1959): no. 9.
	3: 122ff	<i>An Expedition by Boat to the Eastern Provinces</i> Right half missing Left half Philadelphia Museum of Art
133-36	3: 139-78	Missing
137	3: 179	See cat. no. 12d
140-43	3: 180-238	Missing, except for the following:
	3: 184-85	See cat. no. 12e
	3: 194 (?)	<i>Boatmen Crossing to Hajipur (?)</i> PUBLISHED: <i>Colnaghi</i> 1976, no. 86ii.
146-47	3: 238-49	Missing
149-50	3: 249-304	Missing
155	3: 326-40	Missing
159	3: 368-86	Missing

Text locations of the following dispersed pages have not been identified. Other separated illustrations are known in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

*Akbar in a Hunting Procession*  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: *Binney Collection*, no. 20.



*Assault on a River Fortress*  
Cincinnati Art Museum

*Battle Scene*  
Formerly Demotte Collection

PUBLISHED: Strzowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, T.82, Abb. 220.

*Battle Scene*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Colnaghi* 1978, no. 11.

*Capture of Da'ud (?)*  
Fondation Custodia, Paris  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 3, 1971, lot 128.

*Courtiers with a Riderless Horse* (right half)  
Attributed here to Manohar  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

*Humayun before a Fortress*  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

*Hunting Scene*  
Seattle Art Museum  
PUBLISHED: Seattle Art Museum, *Asiatic Art*, p. 37.

*Hunting Scene with Elephants*  
Attributed here to Dhanraj  
Collection of Ralph Benkaim  
PUBLISHED: *Welch FEM*, no. 59.

*A Ruler and a Nobleman*  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

*The Young Akbar Receives Gifts*  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, May 4, 1977, lot 341.

#### NOTES

1. *Akbar-nama*, 1: 484–85.
2. *Ibid.*, 2: 181.
3. *Ibid.*, 2: 336–37.
4. *Beach GM*, no. 6.
5. A page in the *Muraqqa Gulshan* (M. C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 332 [1965]: no. 8) attributable to Farrukh Chela is based on an engraving by Crispin de Passe (*ibid.*, no. 8a).
6. Inscribed pages are found in the *Timur-nama*, the British Library *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated 1595, the *Akhlāt-i-Nasiri* (*Sotheby*, November 27, 1974, lot 684, pl. 4), and the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama* (Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 182b).
7. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 1: 431.
8. *Akbar-nama*, 3: 179.
9. E.g., *Beach GM*, fig. 10.
10. *Akbar-nama*, 3: 184.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 185.



Fig. 14. Illustration from the *Anwar-i-Subaili*.  
By Miskin, dated 1596. Bharat Kala  
Bhavan, Benares.

## Unidentified Manuscripts

- 13 NOAH'S ARK  
Possibly from the *Diwan* of Hafiz  
Attributed to Miskin  
Circa 1590  
28.1 × 15.6 cm. (11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)  
Ex-collection: Minassian  
PUBLISHED: *Welch IMP*, pl. 9.  
48.8

*Detail*, p. 121; *colorplate*, p. 60





A verse of the Koran is devoted to Noah, and he figures in such poetical texts as the *Diwan* of Hafiz and the *Qasid al-Anbiya*.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that this illustration comes from an otherwise lost volume of Hafiz, to which a known illustration of *King Solomon* may also belong.<sup>2</sup>

An immediate comparison to this composition is found in the 1596 *Anwar-i-Subaili*, where a very similar boat scene is inscribed to Miskin (fig. 14). While not of Noah's ark, that work too shows a figure overboard; it may be a stock motif added for dramatic interest.

## MISKIN

Through marginal inscriptions noting the authorship of various illustrations, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct partial genealogies of the painters. For example, in the first *Akbar-nama*, the painter As (or Asi) is listed as "As, brother of Miskin." He is a minor artist, and his main work is in such manuscripts as the 1598 *Razm-nama* (a subimperial work), where his name is given as "As, son of Mahesh." The importance of this inscription is that it establishes Miskin—one of the greatest of Akbar's painters—also as a son of Mahesh (see pp. 85, 87, 89).

The *Darab-nama* contains Miskin's earliest inscribed work, a single illustration; Mahesh, however, contributed four illustrations to that manuscript. In the slightly later Jaipur *Razm-nama*, Mahesh alone designed and executed four illustrations, while Miskin served in the less prestigious capacity of a painter of designs by other master artists; and these small bits of information further indicate that Mahesh was at the time the older, better-known artist. Among the painters (as distinct from designers) at work on the *Razm-nama*, however, Miskin was assigned the largest number of pages, eleven. He as well collaborated with only the greatest designers: Basawan, Daswanth, and Kesu Das. Doubtless a young man at the time, his potential was obviously acknowledged, for he was being carefully trained. He became a designer by the time of the *Timur-nama* (for which he also executed one page unassisted) and the *Ramayana*, and his responsibilities then burgeoned. For the first *Akbar-nama*, he was—according to the pages presently known—second only to Lal as a designer, and he had thoroughly eclipsed his father in importance. He designed the greatest number of pages known in the 1596 *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

There is very little hesitancy in the execution of even the earliest works by Miskin, although there are minor details in these whereby we can see Miskin's debt to Mahesh. (The mountain forms of these first paintings, for example, are similar to the tall, smooth-sided, and pointed shapes of the older artist; they are not yet the light, fancifully balanced piles favored

later by Miskin.) The designs of the mature paintings are invariably clear and strong, and frequently they contain vital and energetic rhythms to which the individual shapes are subservient. We see this especially well at the bottom left of *The World of Animals* (cat. no. 19), where the fish generate an abstract rhythmic current that is picked up by the snakes, dragon, necks of the heron, and tree to build over the surface a complicated texture of energy. In many illustrations, Miskin uses a clear, strong yellow in the background landscape to highlight particular shapes, and the color is not tied to specific forms or naturalistic effects. Mountains are playful, well modeled, and seemingly three-dimensional, they—like the human figures—are usually weightless. Human faces are strongly defined and shaped, although not necessarily highly individualized. Miskin was not an important portraitist; and the sum of these various traits is an effect very different from the realism of Basawan but equally powerful in terms of sheer visual vitality.

Miskin was recognized by his contemporaries as a major painter of animals and was given appropriate commissions as early as the *Ramayana*. He designed the most important double-page hunting scene in the first *Akbar-nama* (for which Mansur was an assistant) and five natural history illustrations in the earliest *Babur-nama* manuscript. As we see in both of the superb works here (cat. nos. 13 and 19), his depictions are spirited and rather fanciful, quite distinct from the serious, virtually scientific naturalism of Mansur (cat. no. 7).

REFERENCES: W. Staude, "Muskine," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 5 (1928): 169–82.

## Manuscripts with inscriptions to Miskin:

*Darab-nama*  
Circa 1580  
British Library, London

*Razm-nama*  
Circa 1582–86  
City Palace Museum, Jaipur  
See figs. 9–10

*Timur-nama*  
Circa 1584  
Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore

*Ramayana*  
Circa 1584–89  
City Palace Museum, Jaipur







Detail of cat. no. 19





Cat. no. 14

*Babur-nama*

Circa 1589

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and dispersed

PUBLISHED: *BM* 1976, no. 24; *Christie*, October 16, 1980, lot 57.

*Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PUBLISHED: *BM* 1976, no. 39; Staude, "Muskin"; *Welch IMP*, pl. 14.

*Baharistan of Jami*

Dated 1595

Bodleian Library, Oxford

PUBLISHED: Barrett and Gray, *Indian Painting*, p. 88.

*Khamsa of Nizami*

Dated 1595

British Library, London

*Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: Marek and Knizkova, pls. 6, 10, 23, 26, 28, and 31; Gray and Godard, *Iran: Persian Miniatures*, pl. XXXIII.

*Anwar-i-Subaili*

Dated 1596

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

*Khamsa of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi*

Dated 1597–98

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, pl. 7.

*Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604

British Library, London, and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

A page in the dispersed *Gulistan* of Sa'di, circa 1600, has also been attributed to the artist (see *Colnaghi* 1976, no. 9).

## 14 THE ABDUCTION OF A PRINCESS BY SEA

Probably from the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Circa 1610

17.4 × 11.9 cm. (6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramanek

45.28

A tentative identification of the subject was made by Richard Ettinghausen. It seems possible to further relate the painting to the manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (Or. fol. 1278; see fig. 26), which was illustrated by painters known to have worked for the Khan Khanan (see p. 134).

### NOTES

1. Folio 112b of a British Library *Diwan* of Hafiz (Grenville XLI) includes the scene, for example, and a similar subject is found in *Sotheby*, April 12, 1976, lot 69, where the reference to the *Qasid al-Anbiya* is mentioned.
2. *Sotheby*, July 13, 1971, lot 75.





Detail of cat. no. 15h





Detail of cat. no. 15m



Detail of cat. no. 18a

## The *Ramayana*

In 1907 Charles Lang Freer bought from the collection of Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna a Mughal manuscript of the *Ramayana*, at that time thought to be the imperial copy, that is, Akbar's own. We now know, however, from an inscription in the book itself (see p. 135), as well as from the character of the illustrations, that this is a copy commissioned by Abd ar-Rahim, Kahn Khanan (see detail of cat. no. 18a). It is termed, therefore, subimperial, meaning that it is one of a group of works commissioned by Mughal nobles rather than by the emperor or members of his immediate family. It is a worthwhile difference to make, because different groups of artists were involved. Mughal painters worked under commission for specific patrons, and what was painted was what that person specifically demanded. It is generally true of Mughal painting, therefore, that it is at least as much a revelation of the taste, perceptions, and enthusiasms of the patrons as of any personal aspect of





Fig. 15. *The Abduction of Sita*. From the *Ramayana*, circa 1584–89. Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur. Photograph courtesy Freer Gallery of Art.



Fig. 16. *The Abduction of Sita*. From the *Ramayana*. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 131r).

the painter. And as one would expect, the emperor's taste substantially determined the character of paintings commissioned by the nobles, just as his obsession with painting—for it must be called that—encouraged similar preoccupations among those who aspired to please him. The Freer *Ramayana*, for example, is one noble's response to the emperor's commission of this fundamental Hindu text.

The *Ramayana* is one of the most familiar and immediate of all Hindu religious stories, the product of a long oral tradition first set down soon after 500 B.C. There are several different versions of the basic story, each stressing different episodes, and some adding new characters and adventures to accord with and include local concepts of the divine. It forms a basic source for traditional village storytellers, as it does for modern Hindi films.



Fig. 17. *Sita Imprisoned at Lanka*. From the *Ramayana*. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 10r).







Fig. 18. *Rama and Lakshman Greeted by Hanuman*. From the *Ramayana*, circa 1595. Formerly Heeramanek Collection.

The hero of the story is Rama, who, like Krishna, is an avatar or incarnation of Vishnu. He is born after a celestial messenger arises from the sacrificial fire of King Dasaratha (cat. no. 15f), who thereby gains Vishnu's help for his wives, who have born him no heir. The messenger gives Dasaratha a pot of nectar, which the king is to divide among his various consorts. The chief wife, who drinks the greater part, eventually gives birth to Rama; while the hero's brothers, Lakshman, Bharat, and Shatrughna, are born to lesser queens. After a number of years—and it is possible here to give only the barest outline of an exceedingly long and complicated plot—a sage, Vishvamitra, asks Rama's help against a demoness, the fearsome Taraka (see detail of cat. no. 15h), whom the boy easily slays, receiving as his prize weapons with divine powers. Vishvamitra then takes Rama and his brother Lakshman to the kingdom of Videha, where Rama sees Sita, the king's daughter, and ceremonially bends—in fact breaks—a bow considered to be too strong for any mortal. This testifies anew to Rama's divinity and thus makes him a suitable husband for Sita, whom he weds.



Fig. 19. *Rama and Lakshman Greeted by Hanuman*. From the *Ramayana*. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 140v).

Soon after, Rama's father decides to leave his throne, following the Hindu ideal of renunciation of worldly ties. He plans to yield his responsibilities to Rama, the rightful heir, but before this can be effected, one of his secondary wives in a complicated series of maneuvers forces the installation of her son, Bharat, as king; and Rama and Sita, together with Rama's devoted brother Lakshman, are exiled for fourteen years. It is the episodes of this exile that most intrigue the Hindu, for the demon Ravana comes and seizes Sita (fig. 15), carrying her off to his golden palace at Lanka—the island still best known as Ceylon. Rama seeks the help of Sugriva, the king of the monkeys, who, together with Hanuman, the general of the monkey armies (cat. no. 15m), and





Fig. 20. *The Death of Ravana*. From the *Ramayana*. By Fazl. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 270r).

Jambhvat, king of the bears, makes a bridge of monkeys across the water and storms Ravana's citadel. First, however, they infiltrate the palace to find Sita's place of imprisonment (fig. 16). There are endless battles against Ravana's troops, one episode of which is the fight between Sugriva and the appealingly demonic Kumbhakarna (see detail of cat. no. 15m). Many of the most marvelous scenes are related to small events of the story, such as the poetic and vital illustration in which Hanuman brings a magic mountain of healing herbs to the wounded (cat. no. 15o).

Rama and Ravana eventually meet, of course, and fight—with Ravana killed (fig. 20) and Sita rescued. Rama, however, now tells Sita that he has only been acting to revenge the dishonor brought onto his fam-

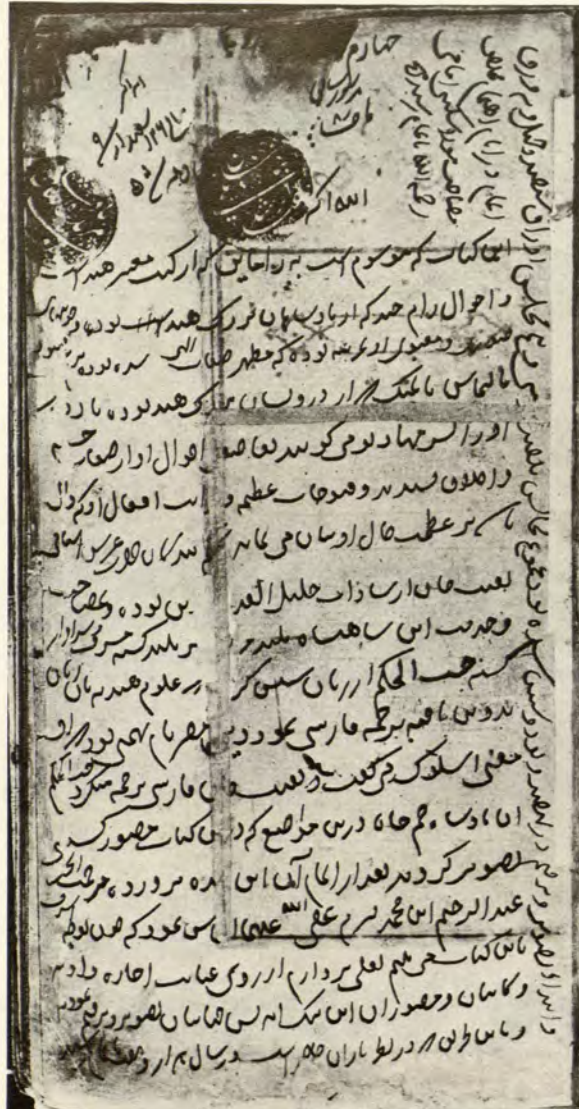


Fig. 21. *Colophon*. From the *Ramayana*. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 364r).

ily by Ravana:

Rama remained brooding for a while and suddenly said, "My task is done. I have now freed you. I have fulfilled my mission. All this effort has been not to attain personal satisfaction for you or me. It was to vindicate the honour of the Ikshvahu race and to honour our ancestors' codes and values. After all this, I must tell you that it is not customary to admit back to the normal married fold a woman who has resided all alone in a stranger's house. There can be no question of our living together again. I leave you free to go where you please and to choose any place to live in. I do not restrict you in any manner.<sup>1</sup>

Sita undergoes a trial by fire, passing through flames to attest to her purity, but Rama refuses to relent and





Fig. 22. Detail of *Ladies Witnessing Suggestive Donkeys*. From the *Diwan* of Anwari, dated 1588. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Gift of John Goelet, formerly in the collection of Louis J. Cartier (fol. 262r).

forces her into further exile while he resumes his place as king. Sita, however, eventually returns bearing Rama's sons and is accepted not only by her husband but by the earth itself, which opens up to receive her. Rama, in turn, finds his apotheosis in the heavens—a simple testament of the dual nature of the divine. The *Ramayana*, then, provides ample opportunity for painters to present a wide variety of scenes—adventurous, lyrical, or revelatory of the divine.

Akbar's interest in Hinduism seemed dangerously heretical to orthodox Muslims, and Badaoni, whom we have quoted frequently in this regard, was not pleased with his task as translator. He wrote of the *Ramayana* in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*:



Detail of cat. no. 15b

In this year [A.H. 992, A.D. 1584] the Emperor commanded me to make a translation of the *Ramayana*, which is a superior composition to the *Mahabharata* . . . the opinion of this set of people [i.e., Hindus] is, that the world is very old, and that no age has been devoid of the human race, and that from that event 100 thousand thousand years have passed. And yet for all that they make no mention of Adam, whose creation took place only 7,000 years ago. Hence it is evident that these events are not true at all, and are nothing but pure invention, and simple imagination, like the *Shahnamah*, and the stories of Amir Hamzah.<sup>2</sup>

Badaoni later recounts that the translation was finished in A.H. 997 (A.D. 1588–89) after four years of work and continues to assert that his own faith remains intact:

The translation of atheism is not atheism, and I repeat the declaration of faith in opposition to heresy, why should I fear (which God forbid!) that a book, which was all written against the grain, and in accordance with a strict command, should bring with it a curse.<sup>3</sup>

The illustrations to the Freer's copy of the text were begun in A.H. 996 (A.D. 1587–88), so that the manuscript for the Khan Khanan was begun before Akbar's own copy was finished. The imperial manuscript is now reputed to be in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur; it has, however, never been published, and in recent years has been inaccessible. The questions of the specific relationship of the two copies





Fig. 23. *Sita and Lakshman*. From the *Razm-nama*. Attributed to Fazl, dated 1616. Private collection.



Cat. no. 151



Fig. 24. *The Departure of Rama*. From the *Ramayana*. By Shyam Sundar. Freer Gallery of Art (fol. 85v).





the Freer manuscript pages are considerably more animated and dramatic; yet, there is an overall sense of greater compositional and expressive simplicity. A further basic point of the comparison is that while the Khan Khanan's artists "copied" Akbar's *Ramayana*, his painters created completely new compositions.

A second comparison can also be made. Figure 17 shows the imprisoned Sita within Ravana's golden city, and it forms an excellent contrast to *Krishna and the Golden City of Dwarka* (cat. no. 6) from the circa 1585 *Harivamsa* manuscript. Initially, it seems fair to note that the *Ramayana* page is less finely drawn, and the figures less well observed. Also, the artist shows little of his colleague's evident delight in building up an opulent surface. In the *Harivamsa* illustration the gold is put on in actual relief, built up over a chalk base. This makes us immediately conscious of the qualities of the material and allows the gold to more easily catch the light. By providing us with views into distant courtyards and of trees and people within the palace, the gold no longer serves as a mere backdrop; it becomes an important element of the narrative, and the contrasting colors of clothes or architectural detail within this mass of gold intensify the brilliance and sparkle of the surface: in short, its physical richness. This delight in minute observation, detail, technical finesse, and fineness of pigments is a distinguishing trait of imperial works of the period.

Conversely, not all subimperial works differ from imperial standards in the same way. A second *Ramayana* manuscript, made for an unidentified (perhaps Hindu) patron, is dispersed. The illustration *Rama and Lakshman Greeted by Hanuman* (fig. 18) corresponds in subject to figure 19 from the Freer volume, and once again we find that the Freer page includes only the basic elements of the narrative, whereas figure 18 builds a more intense mood and atmosphere.

Abd ar-Rahim, Khan Khanan, was the most powerful of Mughal nobles during the period of the manuscript. He was born in 1556, the year of Akbar's accession at the age of thirteen. When his father, Bairam Khan, the young emperor's guardian, was murdered by a rival court faction, Akbar demanded that the child be brought to the palace to be educated and protected. At the age of twenty-one, Abd ar-Rahim was made governor of the province of Gujarat, and seven years later, in 1584, he became guardian of Prince Salim, Akbar's eldest son. He subsequently received the governorships of various provinces; this as much to reward him with ever more prestigious positions as to prevent him from amassing a base of power in any one area. It is his character and activities as a man of letters that is of more concern to us, for the Khan Khanan was a well-known and highly respected bibliophile, who himself employed a large number of calligraphers, illuminators, bookbinders,

and painters, many of whose names are known to us through his informative memoirs.<sup>4</sup> His library was a retreat for an important group of poets, scholars, and writers working under his patronage, and it seems that this establishment moved with him to his various assignments.

There are 130 paintings presently in the manuscript, and in the margins at the bottom of many are the usual notations of authorship. In this case, however, a large proportion of these were trimmed when, at some point in the book's history, the worn edges of the pages were recut; perhaps around 1886, when the volume was rebound by Nizam-ul-Huq in Delhi. Many of the pages have inserted protective papers, and for some of the illustrations the notations were made or recopied in Delhi. The names of at least eleven artists seem legible, although, uncusomarily for sixteenth-century manuscripts, internal consistency regarding the work so attributed to any one artist is often not complete. It may be that some names were carelessly copied or that the protective papers have sometimes been placed randomly.

Within the 130 paintings, there seem to be three general stylistic groups, reflecting different artistic personalities. For example, *Rama and Lakshman Battle the Demon Rakshasas* (cat. no. 15j) by Mohan is rich in color and composition; the figure of Rama has thrust and vitality, while the expiring demon at the bottom—awash with the blood of battle—is given visual force and impact by the unrelieved areas of strong color. The painting is far more sophisticated than the illustration *The Death of Ravana* (fig. 20) by Fazl. This is the pivotal episode of the drama; yet, the demons in the background have no liveliness and, most unforgivably, the artist has let the text do Rama's work for him by cutting Ravana in two. Sophistication in this case, however, is not to be equated with imperial artistic standards, for the work by Mohan is too immediate in impact for Akbar's taste at that time, and the colors are too strong. In any case, it is also very different from the Fazl page, with its flatter planes of weak color, lack of modeling, modest technique, and complete absence of drama. The first sixteen illustrations (between fols. 1 and 38) are generally by painters working in styles similar to that of Mohan (see cat. nos. 15c or 15g, for example), while the last fifty-five paintings (between fols. 194v and 346r) are most often by artists who worked in styles close to the manner of Fazl (see cat. no. 15n). The first group can be best compared to such early Mughal manuscripts as the *Tuti-nama* or *Hamza-nama*, for it seems a direct development of the early Mughal style. It can also be compared to conservative elements still in the imperial workshops. Figure 22 is a detail from Akbar's *Diwan* of Anwari, dated 1588, and the women correspond very closely to the nymphs of folio 19 recto of the *Ramayana* (see detail of cat. no.



15b). The last portion of the volume relates equally directly to a subimperial *Razm-nama* manuscript of 1616, upon which many of the painters (e.g., Fazl, Kamal, Qasim, and Yusuf Ali) worked. Figure 23, by Fazl and from the 1616 manuscript, seems a slightly more mature version of the style of Freer folio 128 verso (cat. no. 151). They both show Fazl's interest in angular forms and gestures and in such details as trees with exposed root systems. In both pages, figures and shapes are flat and decoratively arranged, quite different from the style of the detail of catalogue number 15b. The middle group of fifty-nine illustrations (between fols. 40r and 140v) is overwhelmingly dominated by a frankly mediocre artist, Shyam Sundar (fig. 24). It seems, therefore, that the project began strongly, employing artists who perhaps in some cases had been trained in the imperial workshops, but whose styles did not evolve as quickly as did imperial taste. It was then given over to Shyam Sundar for unexplained reasons. At about folio 140, Shyam's dominance ended, but clearly the manuscript project was in trouble, for there are 54 folios with no illustrations at all (whereas in the preceding 140 folios there had been 75 paintings or about one every two folios). Finally, a new group of artists, led by Fazl, took charge, and the character of the illustrations again changed.

REFERENCES: M. Mahfuzul Haq, "The Khan Khanan and His Painters, Illuminators and Calligraphists," *Islamic Culture* (1931): 621–30; S. A. Zafar Nadvi, "Libraries During Muslim Rule in India," *Islamic Culture* (1945): 329–47; C. R. Naik, *Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and His Literary Circle* (Ahmadabad, 1966).

## 15 RAMAYANA

Dated 1587–98

27.5 × 15.2 cm. (10 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 6 in.), average full leaf

Ex-collection: Hanna

PUBLISHED: *Ettinghausen*, pls. 3–4; Mario Busagli, *Indian Miniatures* (London, 1969), pls. 45–49.

07.271

*Colorplates*, pp. 62–63, 66–67

An inscription on folio 346 recto (fig. 21) has been translated by B. N. Goswamy:

*God is Great*

This book, known as the *Ramayana*, is among the venerated books of India. It is an account of Ram Chand, who was one of the most respected rulers of India, in the past. His virtues and his universal popularity were held up as an example, they being the manifestation of the virtues of God himself. According to Balmik [Valmiki, the author], who was one of the holy sages of India and who is taken to be the son

of Mahadev, this work contains an account of the remarkable virtues, the ideal conduct, the great victories and the (holy) deeds of (Ram Chandra). Following the orders of the officials of the Exalted Emperor, Naqib Khan who is among the distinguished Sayyids (at the court), and who had reached a high position through being a servant and a companion of the Exalted Emperor, translated this work into Persian from Sanskrit, which was the language in which the literature of India was written. There was a Brahmin by the name of Debi Missar [see the quoted passage on page 68] who used to interpret the *slokas* and Naqib Khan used to render them into Persian. At the orders of that King of Jamshid-like glory, this work full of imagery was illustrated with paintings. At the completion of that work, this humble servant Abdul Rahim, son of Muhammad Bairam (may he rest in heaven!), who has been nurtured by the bounties of the Emperor, submitted a request that as he had the privilege of seeing this book, he may be allowed to have it copied. He then received it as an act of great kindness. Then, this work was prepared and illustrated by the scribes and painters of this well-wisher of the world. In this manner, it is open to viewing by his friends. This work was completed in the year 1007 [A.D. 1598–99]. The beginning of the work of painting and illumination of this work was made in the year 996 [A.D. 1587–88]. The total number of painted episodes is 125, and the number of leaves in the book is 649. It was completed under the supervision of the kind and gracious Maulana Shikebi Imami, and the work reached its completion through the divine Grace of God. *Baiz*.

Maulana (or Mulla) Shikebi was a famous poet and littérateur in the Khan Khanan's employ. He was born in Iran in 1556, the same year as his patron, and came to India in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590–91), immediately joining the Khan Khanan on his expedition to Sind. He was thus not in charge of the *Ramayana* manuscript in its initial stages nor, perhaps, at the very conclusion, despite the information in the inscription. He is thought to have left the Khan Khanan in A.H. 1006 (A.D. 1597–98).<sup>5</sup> There are other inscriptional discrepancies also, for the volume contains 130 paintings and 692 pages.

## 15a THE TWO RISHIS, KUSHA AND LAVA, CHANT THE POEM BEFORE RAMA

Possibly by Manda

Folio 14 recto

At the very beginning of the *Ramayana*, the entire story is quickly and briefly told, and the long poem that follows is only an elaborately detailed expansion of the first pages. In form, it is a tale told by Rama's twin sons, the ascetics Kusha and Lava, who sing and



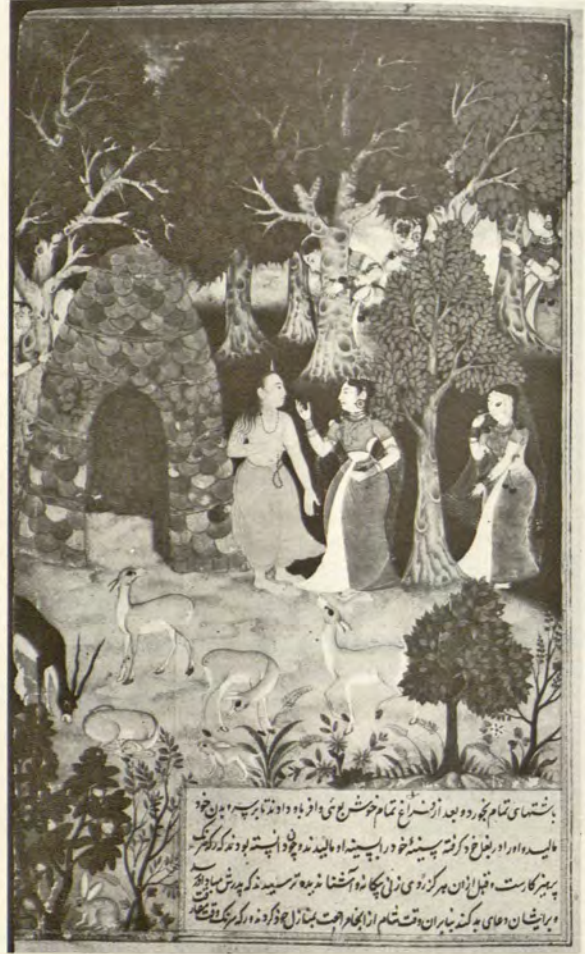


Cat. no. 15a

chant of their father's great deeds to the court of the king:

...their breasts were fired,  
And the great tale, as if inspired,  
The youths began to sing,  
While every heart with transport swelled,  
And mute and rapt attention held  
The concourse and the king.<sup>6</sup>

The inscription at the bottom may name the painter Manda, a Hindu known to have worked for Khan Khanan.<sup>7</sup>



Cat. no. 15b

15b

# A GROUP OF DANCING GIRLS SENT TO ENTICE THE YOUTHFUL ASCETIC, RISHYASHRINGA

Possibly by Govardhan

Folio 19 recto

PUBLISHED: M. C. Beach, *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota* (Ascona, 1974), p. 8 and figs. 4-5.

*Detail, p. 132; colorplate, p. 62*

Dasaratha, king of Ajodhya, was old and had no son to succeed him and perform the necessary funeral rites. In desperation he called together his counselors, for he had decided to take the extreme step of making a sacrifice—the ritual death of a horse as an offering to the gods—an elaborate ceremony that, if per-



formed correctly, would guarantee him his wish.

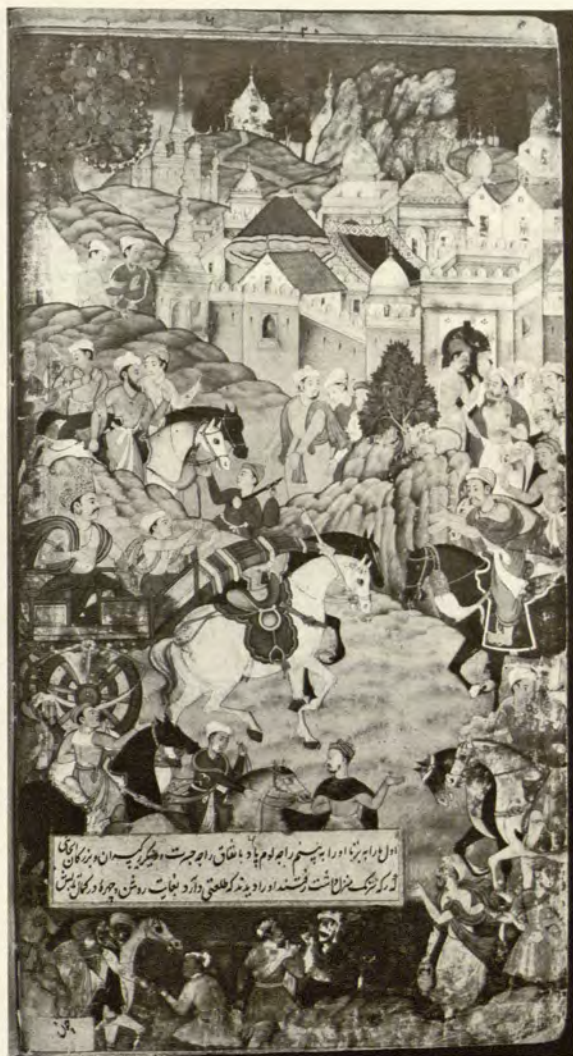
One of his advisers told him of a young hermit named Rishyashringa. He had lived his life in the forests with his elderly father and deer and wild animals as his companions; and as he was thus naturally free of human egotism, greed, and selfishness, he was considered particularly holy. He was a brahmin (of the priestly caste) by birth, and thus if he could conduct the sacrifice, it was suggested that the chances of success would be great.

Dasaratha was delighted and asked how he could find the youth. His friend Sumantra related how Rishyashringa had recently been drawn out of the forests by a trick. The kingdom of Anga, which was near Ajodhya, had been suffering from a drought and had sought Rishyashringa's help, for so holy was the saint that wherever he went, a gentle rain fell to feed the earth. After failing at several attempts to lure Rishyashringa to Anga, the king gathered together the most beautiful women in the land, dressed them in thin gauzes, and sent them into the forest. Rishyashringa, who had never seen a woman before, was enchanted. He had no idea what they were, for he related later to his father:

"O Sire, there came to visit us  
Some men with lovely eyes.  
About my neck soft arms they wound  
And kept me tightly held  
To tender breasts so soft and round,  
That strangely heaved and swelled."<sup>8</sup>

When they assured him that they too were ascetics, he willingly followed them to Anga, and there he was honored by the king and the drought ended.

This superb illustration, among the finest in the manuscript, has a trimmed marginal attribution that might be read as Govardhan, to whom folio 22 recto (cat. no. 15d) is also attributed.



Cat. no. 15c

# 15c KING DASARATHA SETS OUT TO INVITE RISHYASHRINGA

Folio 20 verso

Learning that Rishyashringa was nearby, Dasaratha immediately left to ask him to come to Ajodhya, and the townpeople gathered to watch his departure.

# 15d RISHYASHRINGA TRAVELS TO AJODHYA

Possibly by Govardhan  
Folio 22 recto

*Illustration, p. 138*

The brahmin saint, who had meanwhile married the daughter of the king of Anga, accepted Dasaratha's invitation and went to Ajodhya, together with his wife.

The marginal attribution is again tentatively read as Govardhan (see also cat. no. 15b).





Cat. no. 15d



15e KING DASARATHA  
CELEBRATES THE HORSE  
SACRIFICE

Folio 24 recto

The king, with Rishyashringa (to the right of the fire) and assembled nobles and priests, sits in a special pavilion erected for the ceremony. The columns were:

So thick . . . the arms of man  
Their ample girth would fail to span.  
All these with utmost care were wrought  
By hand of priests in scripture taught,  
And all with gold were gilded bright  
To add new splendour to the rite: . . .  
Then ribbons over all were hung,  
And flowers and scent around them flung.  
Thus decked they cast a glory forth  
Like the great saints who star the north.<sup>9</sup>

At the climax of the rituals, Queen Kausalya garlanded the horse with flowers and, walking around him three times, slew him with three swords. The marrow of his bones was boiled, and Dasaratha breathed the steam—and then the steed's body was burned on a pile of cane. The ritual lasted three days and ended when offerings of cattle, gold, and silver were made to the priests, and Dasaratha formally made his request for an heir. As the sacrifice was a success, Rishyashringa promised that he should have four sons.

The detail shows the elaborately painted pillars of the ceremonial hall and can be taken as evidence for contemporary palace decoration.



Detail of cat. no. 15e

15f THE DIVINE MESSENGER  
RISING FROM THE  
SACRIFICIAL FIRE

By Nadim  
Folio 26 recto

*Illustration, p. 140*

While the sacrifice was being celebrated, the gods together had gone to the great god Vishnu, to plead for his help in ridding the earth of the demonic Ravana, and—unknown to all mortals—Vishnu decided to incarnate himself as the sons of Dasaratha. Thus, no sooner had Rishyashringa uttered his promise than the sacrificial fire erupted:

The monarch watched the sacred rite  
When a vast form of awful might,  
Of matchless splendour, strength and size  
Was manifest before his eyes  
From forth the sacrificial flame,  
Dark, robed in red, the being came.  
His voice was drumlike, loud and low,  
His face suffused with rosy glow.



Cat. no. 15e





Cat. no. 15f



Like a huge lion's mane appeared  
The long locks of his hair and beard.  
He shone with many a lucky sign,  
And many an ornament divine;  
A towering mountain in his height,  
A tiger in his gait and might.  
No precious mine more rich could be,  
No burning flame more bright than he.  
His arms embraced in loving hold,  
Like a dear wife, a vase of gold  
Whose silver lining held a draught  
Of nectar as in heaven is quaffed:  
A vase so vast, so bright to view,  
They scarce could count the vision true.<sup>10</sup>

The nectar was to be drunk by Dasaratha's queens. Awed and amazed, the king gave half to Kausalya, his chief consort, and lesser portions to Sumitra and Kaikeyi, his other wives, and in nine months they presented him with sons. Rama was born to Kausalya and Bharat to Kaikeyi, while Sumitra became the mother of twins, Lakshman and Shatrughna.

## NADIM

Nadim and his brother Fahim were Rajputs, reportedly the sons of Barbunaji Rathor of Sirohi<sup>11</sup> and are the only known members of the ruling Rajput caste to become professional artists before the late eighteenth century. In the Khan Khanan's memoirs, the *Maathir-i-Rahimi*, it was written of Nadim that:

He was so skilled in drawing and painting that, since the days of Mani and Bihzad, none has been born who can rival him. He acquired this proficiency in the library, and in the service, of this Commander-in-Chief. In fact, the exalted Khan Khanan himself instructed and raised him to this high level. Thus, under the training of the Khan Khanan, he became a peerless master in his art. He breathed his last in the service of his master. He led a comfortable and care-free life, as he was handsomely paid by the Khan Khanan.<sup>12</sup>

In the *Maathir-ul-Umara*, it states:

The best of the Khan Khanan's servants was Miyan Fahim. Though it was reported that he was a slave he was really a Rajput by descent. He was brought up like his [the Khan Khanan's] son and possessed great ability and steadfastness. To his last breath he never failed in the night prayer, the forenoon prayer, and the prayer at sunrise. He loved dervishes. He ate with the soldiers like a brother, but he was of a hot disposition. The sound of the whip was ever loud.<sup>13</sup>

We know nothing of Fahim as a painter, and while this illustration shows Nadim to be a competent artist, he is hardly in a class with Mushfiq, for example, whose marvelous depiction of the demoness Taraka is seen on folio 35 verso (cat. no. 15h). A second, somewhat less ambitious, painting, *The Five Thousand Youths Bringing the Chest Containing the Great Bow*, is found on folio 62 recto, and several further illus-



Fig. 25. *Bahram Gur Hunting*. From the *Khamsa* of Nizami. By Nadim, circa 1610. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum, London (1920-9-17-0258).

trations are known, datable to about 1605. *Bahram Gur Hunting* (fig. 25), in the British Museum, is identified as belonging to the *Haft Paikar* section of a *Khamsa* of Nizami manuscript (see *Titley Miniatures*, no. 307). The style is considerably more controlled than that of the *Ramayana* page, but as the Khan Khanan's memoirs of 1617 state that Nadim had spent his entire life in the Khan Khanan's service, all of the additional works listed below (if, indeed, they are from separate manuscripts) should be related to that patron.

Additional manuscripts with inscriptions to Nadim:

*Khamsa* of Amir Khusrav Dihlavi

Circa 1610

Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

PUBLISHED: T. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (Paris, 1929), pl. 85.

*Khamsa* of Nizami

Circa 1610

Three dispersed pages in the British Museum, London

REFERENCES: *Titley Miniatures*, nos. 307, 329–330. Figure 25





Cat. no. 15g

- 15g KING DASARATHA SAYS  
FAREWELL TO  
RISHYASHRINGA  
Folio 27 verso

Once the rituals were complete, Rishyashringa departed from Ajodhya.

- 15h RAMA AND LAKSHMAN  
FIGHT THE DEMONESS  
TARAKA  
By Mushfiq  
Folio 35 verso

Detail, p. 127; colorplate, p. 63

When Rama and his brothers were sixteen, the great sage Vishvamitra came to court to speak to Dasaratha; and the king, in time-honored tradition, greeted the holy man with promises to grant whatever he desired.

Vishvamitra humbly explained that he had been troubled by fiendish creatures, spirits who came to him whenever he was worshipping the gods and ruined his prayers. He needed help in defeating the demons, and when Dasaratha willingly offered his aid, Vishvamitra explained quietly that it was only Rama, not Dasaratha, who could serve him. The king was horrified, but eventually Rama was allowed to depart in company with his devoted brother, Lakshman.

Soon after they had left, they came to a dark and gloomy forest. Rama stopped, for the air was heavy with poison. Vishvamitra warned them that this was the home of the demoness Taraka, and he told them her story.

Taraka had been an extraordinarily beautiful child and at the proper age was given to Sunda as a bride. They had a son, Maricha, and when Sunda died soon afterward, Taraka and the child went mad with grief. Unable to control their emotions and moods, they began to attack men who had learned such control, sages and saints whose conduct was a model to Hindus. Attacking Agastya, the greatest of the sages, Taraka was cursed by him to wear forever a shape that matched her mood, and she became an ugly, tormented fiend, with hanging breasts and fiery eyes. Maricha was changed into a demonic giant (see cat. no. 15j), and together they raged through the forest causing endless destruction.

His tale over, Vishvamitra turned to Rama and told him it was his duty to kill Taraka, but Rama hesitated because, despite everything, she was a woman and so worthy of his respect and protection. Vishvamitra finally persuaded him; and Rama, with Lakshman, went to find the demoness. Once they had gone deep into the forest, she came rushing at them cursing, with eyes blazing and arms flailing. She kicked up clouds of dust and showered them with pebbles, and Lakshman, enraged at this unprovoked attack, cut off her ears and nose, in hopes that this would bring her to her senses. Instead, she continued her assault, changing herself continually into new and different shapes. Then again growing gigantic, she raised her arms murderously, but Rama calmly shot an arrow and she fell dead.

#### MUSHFIQ

Only one page can be assigned to Mushfiq, the most sophisticated of the Khan Khanan's artists, a man whose talent would certainly have guaranteed him a position in Akbar's workshops had he so wished. It is, however, written of him in the *Maathir-i-Rabimi*:





Cat. no. 15h

He is an unrivalled painter of his age. He has passed his life, from an early age down to the present day, in the library (of the Khan Khanan). Here, he acquired proficiency and obtained this exalted position under the care and in the training of this Chief. He has no equal (in his art). He leads a life of comfort, under the patronage of the Khan Khanan. He works in the library.<sup>14</sup>

Other than the fact that Mushfiq was still alive in 1617, this description makes the same statement for this painter that was made earlier for Nadim. Mushfiq, however, is a far greater artist, although only two other signed works are known. Of these, the Amir Khusrau Dihlavi manuscript illustration (fig. 26) is in a style very close to that of Nadim in his page from the volume—in fact, both that work and the pages of the *Khamsa* of Nizami pages attributed to Nadim are in a style of such uniformity that the Khan Khanan's library at the time must have been under very strong superintendence. Like many of the Khan Khanan's painters, Mushfiq seems to have worked on



Detail of cat. no. 15h

the *Razm-nama* manuscript of 1616, for a page (fig. 27) in the Fogg Art Museum seems attributable to his hand.

Additional works with inscriptions to Mushfiq:

*Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Circa 1610

Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

PUBLISHED: Arnold and Grohmann, *Islamic Book*, fig. 87.

Figure 26

*A Muse*

Circa 1590

British Museum, London

Figure 28





Fig. 26. Illustration by Mushfiq from the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, circa 1610. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (Or. fol. 1278). Photograph from T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (Paris, 1929), fig. 87.



Fig. 27. *Hero Fighting a Monster*. From the *Razm-nama*. Attributed here to Mushfiq, dated 1616. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Gift of John Goellet.





Fig. 28. *A Muse*. By Mushfiq, circa 1590.  
Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum,  
London (1947-10-11-02).



Cat. no. 15i

# 15i RAMA IS PRESENTED WITH CELESTIAL WEAPONS

Folio 37 recto

As soon as Taraka was dead, the forest was filled with light and flowers, and the gods came to praise Rama—for this act was clear proof of his divinity. And after a night of rest, Vishvamitra presented the hero with the weapons used by the gods, and Rama became virtually invincible.





Detail of cat. no. 15j

Cat. no. 15j



## 15j RAMA AND LAKSHMAN BATTLE THE DEMON RAKSHASAS

By Mohan  
Folio 38 verso

*Colorplate, p. 67*

Having proven himself—for the battle against Taraka was a preliminary test of his prowess—Rama was judged ready to protect Vishvamitra's solitude while he performed his austere religious rites. In a forest retreat, accompanied as always by the faithful Lakshman, Rama watched unceasingly as the sage added oil to the sacred flame, laid flowers on the altar, sang hymns, and proved his devotion. But then on the sixth and last day, the expected attack came. The sky darkened as if with monsoon clouds, and the air roared with continual thunder. At the altar appeared Maricha, Taraka's son, with Suvahu, and when they came it rained blood. These were the demons from whom Vishvamitra asked to be protected, and Rama, with an arrow "swift as thought," defeated them both. Because Rama's mind and body were focused on the task, the deed was accomplished before Vishvamitra was aware of the onslaught, and thus his worship was never disturbed. Had it been otherwise his devotion and sincerity would have been unproved and he would have had to start over yet another time.

MOHAN

There are no contemporary literary references to a painter named Mohan, and this is the only *Ramayana* illustration that reliably bears his name. Pages by Mohan, son of Banwari, are known in the 1598 *Razm-nama* manuscript (fig. 29) upon which Kamal (see pp. 153–54) also worked, and it is possible that this is the same artist. The *Razm-nama* illustration is in a style somewhat closer to the mainstream of Mughal tradition, and a further example by the artist—very much more refined in style but still of recognizably pre-Mughal Hindu ancestry—is in Jahangir's *Anwar-i-Suhaili* manuscript of 1604–10 in the British Library. It would seem, therefore, that Mohan rose through the ranks to become an imperial painter.

Additional manuscripts with inscriptions to Mohan:

*Razm-nama*

Dated 1598

Dispersed pages in the British Library, London, and the Cleveland Museum of Art

REFERENCE: *Titley Miniatures*, no. 292/1.

Figure 29

*Anwar-i-Suhaili*

Dated 1604–10

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus*, pl. XXIII.



Illustration, p. 148  
The god Indra decreed another test of Vishvamitra's concentration and ordered the nymph Rambha to seduce the sage.

... the nymph obeyed  
In all her loveliest charms arrayed,  
With winning ways and witching smile  
She sought the hermit to beguile.  
The sweet note of that tuneful bird  
The saint with ravished bosom heard,  
And on his heart a rapture passed  
As on the nymph a look he cast.  
But when he heard the bird prolong  
His sweet incomparable song,  
And saw the nymph with winning smile,  
The hermit's heart perceived the wile.<sup>15</sup>  
The sage, who is shown seated in the midst of a circle of flame—to show his disdain for bodily comfort and the heat of India—cursed Rambha and transformed her into stone.

15l RAMA CHASES A RAKSHASA  
IN THE FORM OF A GOLDEN  
ANTELOPE  
Painted by Fazl  
Folio 128 verso

Detail, p. 133  
The demon is again Maricha, son of Taraka, who was depicted in catalogue number 15j.

FAZL

While paintings by Fazl appear in the middle of the manuscript, he is the dominant influence in the third section. His style is simple. Forms are restricted to the most basic narrative necessities, and they tend to be angular. His compositions are sparse and reveal his individual traits, particularly the way he draws trees as if they had been uprooted and laid on the surface of the paper.

Fazl also worked on a second important manuscript, a copy of the *Razm-nama* reputedly dated 1616 (see fig. 23). In the later work his style has matured considerably, for the forms are now bound together in an overall system that is tight and compositionally coherent. The tree is no longer a flat shape but is slightly modeled, giving further animation to the surface.

Another series of paintings that can be associated with Fazl or the artists who worked closely with him

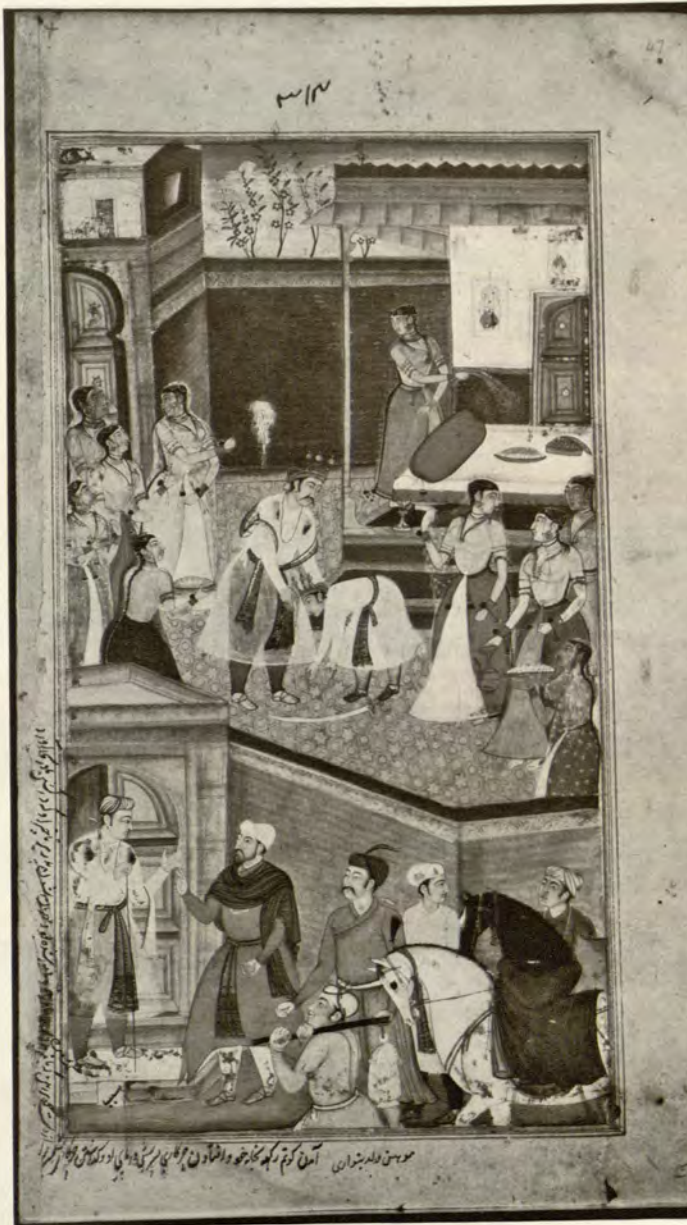


Fig. 29. Illustration from the *Razm-nama*. By Mohan, dated 1598. George P. Bickford Collection.

is the *Laud Ragamala*, which illustrates a standard Hindu text. This is the earliest documented set of Indian paintings known to have arrived in Europe, for in 1640 the group was included in an album presented to the Bodleian Library by Archbishop Laud, one of the earliest and greatest patrons of that institution. Laud's eagerness to acquire manuscripts of foreign and exotic texts was well known to his con-





نیکداشت و در هوای پس میان آبهای سرد قرار می گرفت و این طور ریاضت شاق می کرد  
 تا آنکه دیو تبار بر حال او رحم آمد و گفتند او بسیار ریاضت و عبادت خود در مضیقه  
 و خل کند و ما را از شغل غرض مغرول ساز و ایند بر برای امتحان او در بنام ابراهیم را که در سن  
 بهترین ابراهیم بود و طلبید و بوی فرمود که برو و بسوایتر را بنام زکریا و فریب بدو تا از  
 و عبادت باز ماند و بنهاد دست تعظیم بر پیشانی نهاد و باید گفت که عابد را فریب داد و  
 عبادت او شدن بالی عظیم آورد و مر از این کار بعد و روزه دیگری را فرما که از دست باغی آید  
 ایند گفت تو به نرس که این سحره توام و من بصورت کیل میشوم که جانور نیست سیاه و خن  
 مشهور در میان اهل هند و ما تو بسوایتر را با و از فریب از راه می بریم اخرا ایند بصورت کیل شد

خود را بر یور با پیاست



temporaries, and it is distinctly possible that the paintings came to Laud through his friend Sir Thomas Roe (see pp. 29–32). In 1628 Laud sent about twenty-nine manuscripts received from Roe to the Bodleian, and in 1644 these were followed by a collection of coins. In 1639 Laud wrote to Roe, who was then in Hamburg, “if you light on any manuscripts, forget me not.”<sup>16</sup>

The source of the *Ragamala*, however, is not documented, and there are difficulties in assuming that Roe was the intermediary—although he was in India when Fazl was painting. He had only the barest contact with the Khan Khanan, for whom the paintings were probably made (for besides knowing that Fazl worked for the Khan Khanan, there is included in the album a portrait of Bairam Khan, the Khan Khanan’s father). And, in fact, there is a second possibility. In 1609 William Hawkins, an English trader whose knowledge of Turkish (the family language of the Mughals) allowed him access to Jahangir’s private apartments—where he and the emperor seem to have become boon drinking companions—met the Khan Khanan and records in his diaries:

The eighteenth of the said moneth, thanks be to God, I came in safetie to Bramport, and the next day I went to the court to visit the Chanchanna, being the Lord Generall and Vice-Roy of the Decan, giving him a present, who kindly tooke it; and after three houres conference with him, he made me a great feast, and being risen from the table, invested me with two cloakes, one of fine woollen, and another of cloth of gold, giving me his most kind letter of favour to the king. That done, we embraced, and so we departed.<sup>17</sup>

This sort of occasion, which Roe would probably have felt to be beneath his dignity, is precisely the sort of occasion when exchanges of gifts, such as an album, would have been made. The important point, however, is that works from the circle of Fazl and the Khan Khanan seem to have been the first to reach Europe, although they had absolutely no effect there. When the Europeans learned of imperial Mughal paintings, they were far more enthusiastic; Rembrandt’s copies of imperial Mughal miniatures in the mid-seventeenth century, after all, are well known.<sup>18</sup> The Laud paintings, however, were mere curiosities.

Additional manuscripts with inscriptions to Fazl:

*Razm-nama*

Dated 1616

Dispersed

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 15, 1970, lot 12; *Colnaghi* 1978, no. 17.

See fig. 22

*Iyar-i-Danish*

Early 17th century

Present location unknown

REFERENCE: *Sotheby*, July 9, 1974, lot 309; *Colnaghi* 1979, no. 17.

## 15m SUGRIVA BATTLES KUMBHAKARNA

Folio 220 verso

*Detail, p. 128*

Once at Lanka, Rama’s armies were repeatedly attacked by Ravana and his troops. The demon’s brother, Kumbhakarna, was a particularly ferocious antagonist, and at one point broke off the side of a mountain and hurled it at Sugriva, the monkey-king.

Yet at Sugriva’s head he sent  
A peak from Lanka’s mountain rent.  
The rushing mass no might could stay:  
Sugriva fell and senseless lay.  
The giant stooped his foe to seize,  
And bore him thence, as bears the breeze  
A cloud in autumn through the sky.  
He heard the sad Immortals sigh . . .  
By slow degrees the Vanars’ lord  
Felt life and sense and strength restored.  
He heard the giants’ joyful boast:  
He thought upon the Vanars host.  
His teeth and feet he fiercely plied,  
And bit and rent the giant’s side,  
Who, mad with pain and smeared with gore,  
Hurled to the ground the load he bore.<sup>19</sup>



Cat. no. 15m



15n HANUMAN SEEKS THE  
HEALING HERBS

By Yusuf Ali  
Folio 234 verso

Later, when all of Rama's troops—the Vanar host—were also momentarily overcome by the demons, Hanuman was told of a magic mountain of healing plants and sped to seek it out. Finally:

There was the noble hill whereon  
Those herbs with wondrous lustre shone,  
And, ravished by the glorious sight,  
Hanuman rested on the height.<sup>20</sup>

The herbs were not pleased at being plucked, however, and hid themselves, so Hanuman simply broke off the mountaintop to carry it back to the heroes.

YUSUF ALI

After Fazl, Yusuf Ali was the most prolific artist in the last section of the *Ramayana*. A signed page of the 1616 *Razm-nama* was formerly in the Coomaraswamy Collection, but beyond these works the artist is unknown.



Cat. no. 15n

Cat. no. 15o

15o HANUMAN BRINGS THE  
MOUNTAIN OF HEALING  
HERBS

By Zain-al-Abidin  
Folio 236 recto

*Colorplate, p. 66*

The plants brought back by Hanuman revived and cured the wounded warriors:

The wondrous herbs delightful scent  
To all the host new vigour lent.  
Free from all darts and wounds and pain  
The sons of Raghu lived again.<sup>21</sup>

No other works by Zain-al-Abidin are known.







Detail of cat. no. 15o





at. no. 15p

## 15p RAVANA SEIZES THE CHARIOT PUSHPAKA

By Qasim  
Folio 297 verso

The many-headed, multiarmed Ravana is seen seated in the chariot, formerly the property of Kubera, the god of wealth.

### QASIM

Like several other artists, Qasim worked on both the *Ramayana* and the 1616 *Razm-nama*. An inscribed page in the Kraus Collection from the latter manuscript (see the publication listed below) seems identical in style to the final illustration of this volume (fol. 346r) and reiterates the close relationship of the two manuscripts. This poses problems, however. Other pages signed by Qasim and listed below seem to be from circa 1600–1610, yet they do not relate easily to the *Ramayana* and *Razm-nama*. In fact, these other manuscripts—the *Shah-nama* and *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi—form a second, stylistically unified group, which must as well include separate pages from the British Museum *Khamsa* of Nizami (e.g., fig. 25). Since the stylistic continuity of the *Ramayana* and *Razm-nama* volumes seems unquestionable—this would cover the years 1587 to 1616, if the inscriptions are correct—and since Mushfiq, Nadim, and Qasim painted for both groups, the overall relationship of the five manuscripts must be reconsidered.

Additional manuscripts with inscriptions to Qasim:

*Shah-nama*

Circa 1600

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: L. Binyon and T. Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (Oxford, 1921), pl. VIII.

*Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Circa 1610

Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

PUBLISHED: Arnold and Grohmann, *Islamic Book*, pl. 86.

*Razm-nama*

Dated 1616

Dispersed

PUBLISHED: Grube, *Islamic Paintings*, pl. LIV.



# 15q VALI APPROACHED BY RAVANA

By Kamal  
Folio 302 recto

The illustration shows the confrontation of Bal (or Vali), the brother of Sugriva, with Ravana.

## KAMAL

At least three different forms of a name related to Kamal are known. Four pages in the Freer *Ramayana* bear the name, but they do not seem necessarily consistent stylistically—a problem with many attributions in the work. *Vali Approached by Ravana* is certainly the finest of the group and the closest in style to a signed page in the British Museum from the 1616 *Razm-nama* (see publication listed on p. 154), and it would seem that these are by the same man. The name in the same form is found on the *Razm-nama* of 1598, and a dispersed page in the Victoria and Albert Museum further states that Kamal was the son of Khem, a well-known and respected Akbari artist. The name Kamali Chela appears on folios of the 1596 *Jami-al-Tawarikh* (e.g., cat. no. 11) and the circa 1590 *Iyar-i-Danish*, but here we are dealing with a painter of the imperial workshops and, according to the meager information that we can gather, he would seem to be a separate personality. A third name, Kamal Kashmiri, is on a *Timur-nama* page (fol. 146v), for which the artist worked unassisted. The Persian form of his name is different, however, and there seems no compelling visual reason to link him with the other men.

Additional manuscripts with inscriptions related to the name Kamal:

### *Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Inscribed to Kamal Kashmiri

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore

### *Iyar-i-Danish*

Circa 1590

Inscribed to Kamali Chela

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 2: pl. 40.

### *Jami-al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Inscribed to Kamali Chela

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: *Marek and Knizkova*, pl. 18.

See cat. no. 11



Cat. no. 15q



*Razm-nama*  
Dated 1598  
Inscribed to Kamal  
Dispersed

*Shah-nama*  
Circa 1600  
Inscribed to Kamal  
British Library, London

REFERENCE: *Titley Miniatures*, no. 105.

*Razm-nama*  
Dated 1616  
Inscribed to Kamal  
Dispersed

PUBLISHED: Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 106.

### Comparative Manuscripts

In addition to the painters mentioned above, the following artists are known to have worked for the Khan Khanan, although no signed or attributable works have been found: Bahbud, Faghfur, Ibrahim, and Madhu.<sup>22</sup> The manuscripts listed below either seem closely related in style to works made for the Khan Khanan or contain inscriptions to artists in his employ.

*Shah-nama*  
Circa 1600  
Inscriptions to Kamal, Qasim, etc.  
British Library, London

PUBLISHED: Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pl. VIII.

*Khamisa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi  
Circa 1610  
Inscribed to Mushfiq, Nadim, and Qasim  
Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

PUBLISHED: Arnold and Grohmann, *Islamic Book*, pls. 84–87.

*Khamisa* of Nizami  
Circa 1610  
Inscribed to Nadim  
Dispersed pages in the British Library, London

REFERENCE: *Titley Miniatures*, nos. 307, 329–30.

*Razm-nama*  
Dated 1616  
Inscribed to Fazl, Kamal, Qasim, Yusuf Ali, etc.  
Dispersed pages in the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Cleveland Museum of Art; Collection of Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Archer; Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd; Fogg Art Museum,

Cambridge, Mass.; Indian Museum, Calcutta; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and several private collections

PUBLISHED: Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 106; L. Ashton, ed., *The Arts of India and Pakistan* (New York, 1949), pl. 122; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 14, no. 4 (1955): 94; *Sotheby*, May 19, 1958, lots 26–41; W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1960), pl. 24; *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (January 1961): 12 and 14; *Welch AMI*, pl. 33; *Sotheby*, December 1, 1969, lots 134–42, July 15, 1970, lot 12, December 7, 1970, lots 109–12; *Binney Collection*, no. 35a–b; *Sotheby*, July 7, 1974, lot 22, April 12, 1976, lots 80–84, April 23, 1979, lots 103–6.

*Laud Ragamala*  
Circa 1615  
Bodleian Library, Oxford

PUBLISHED: H. J. Stooke and Karl Khandalavala, *Laud Ragamala Miniatures* (Oxford, 1953).

*Panj Ganj*  
Early 17th century  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

*Zafar-nama*  
Early 17th century  
Present location unknown  
PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, December 1, 1969, lot 196.

### NOTES

1. R. K. Narayan, *The Ramayana* (New York, 1972), p. 162.
2. *Badaoni*, pp. 346–47.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 378.
4. Haq, "Khan Khanan," pp. 621–30. (See Introduction, note 8.)
5. His biography is given in C. R. Naik, *Abdu'l-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and His Literary Circle* (Ahmadabad, 1966), pp. 280–84.
6. R. T. H. Griffith, *The Ramayan of Valmiki* (London, 1870), 1: 32.
7. Naik, *Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan*, p. 273.
8. Griffith, *Ramayana*, 1: 56.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89.
11. Haq, "Khan Khanan," p. 626.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, 1: 64.
14. Haq, "Khan Khanan," p. 626.
15. Griffith, *Ramayana*, 1: 269–70.
16. Laud's relationship with Roe is discussed in Michael J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington, Ky., 1970), pp. 228–35. The relationship of Fazl and the *Laud Ragamala* was first noticed by Stuart C. Welch.
17. William Foster, *Early Travels in India*. Reprint. (New Delhi, 1968), p. 80.



18. For examples, see S. Slive, *Drawings of Rembrandt* (New York, 1965), nos. 118, 167, 268, 520.
19. Griffith, *Ramayana*, 5: 199.
20. Ibid., p. 225.
21. Ibid., p. 226.
22. See Haq, "Khan Khanan," pp. 625–27; and Naik, *Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan*, p. 391.



## The Albums of Jahangir

Jahangir's refined and eclectic taste is best revealed in the sumptuous albums he had assembled from loose illustrations and calligraphic panels that he commissioned and collected. The sources of these works were wide ranging. Iranian paintings and drawings are found alongside European prints, works from the Deccan, and both earlier and contemporary Mughal paintings. Works from Hindu India, however, were not included. Sometimes several independent illustrations were combined on one page with overpainting providing visual unity. Elaborate borders were made, and the greatest artists (such as Basawan, Aqa Riza, Govardhan, Daulat, Balchand, or Bishan Das) were commissioned to paint marginal designs. The calligraphies—sometimes enhanced by floral or bird motifs—were arranged on facing pages and alternated with paired paintings, prints, or drawings.

Three major groups of Jahangir album pages and a small number of dispersed folios are known. The largest group, the *Muraqqa Gulshan*, is in the former Imperial Library, Tehran. A second volume, in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, is termed the *Berlin Album*. A third group of about forty pages was recently in a private collection in Tehran. The earliest inscriptionally dated (1599) margins are in the *Muraqqa Gulshan* and are by Aqa Riza, proving that the album was begun by Jahangir before his accession.

REFERENCES: E. Kuhnelt and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library, Berlin* (London, 1926); Basil Gray and André Godard, *Iran: Persian Miniatures—Imperial Library* (New York, 1956), pp. 18–20 and pls. XVI–XXIV; J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 66 (1935): 168–71; Y. Godard, "Les Marges du Murakka Gulshan," *Athar-e-Iran* 1 (1936): 11–33; H. Goetz, "The Early Muraqqas of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir," *East and West* 8 (1957): 157–85; Ettinghausen, "New Pictorial Evidence"; M. C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and its European Sources," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 332 (1965): 63–91; Beach GM, pp. 43–59 (where all known dispersed pages are listed and discussed).

### 16a [Recto] MARGINAL FIGURES

Circa 1600

PUBLISHED: *Atıl Brush*, no. 62; Ettinghausen, "New Evidence" fig. 8

### [Recto] CALLIGRAPHY

By Ali al-Katib

Iranian, early 16th century

### [Verso] A MONGOL CHIEFTAIN AND ATTENDANTS

Circa 1600

17.5 × 11.3 cm. (6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.), illustration

From an album of Jahangir

42.3 × 26.5 cm. (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.), full page

Ex-collection: Mallon

52.2

*Illustration, p. 158; detail, p. 28*

The marginal figures on the recto—which, since Persian is read in the opposite direction to our system, is the verso of a European book—are based on European sources, as evidenced by the costume and the picture of Christ being held for worship.

The headdress on the major verso figure identifies him as a Mongol. A second version of the composition is in the National Museum of India, New Delhi, and is certainly later, for it lacks the incisive characterizations, vivid gestures, and technical brilliance of the original. The Delhi page (fig. 30) comes from a group of works formerly in the collection of the Maharana of Udaipur and seems to have been placed in an album in the second quarter of the seventeenth century; an inscription of that date gives the name of the painter of the copy as Vilayat.<sup>1</sup>

### 16b [Recto] MARGINAL FIGURES (The Artisans of a Library)

Circa 1600

PUBLISHED: *Atıl Brush*, no. 63.

### [Recto] CALLIGRAPHY

By Mir Ali al-Sultani

Iranian, early 16th century

### [Verso] A PRINCE ON HORSEBACK OFFERING WINE TO A YOUTH IN A TREE-HOUSE

Circa 1600

22.5 × 11.5 cm. (8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.), illustration

From an album of Jahangir

42.5 × 26.6 cm. (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.), full page

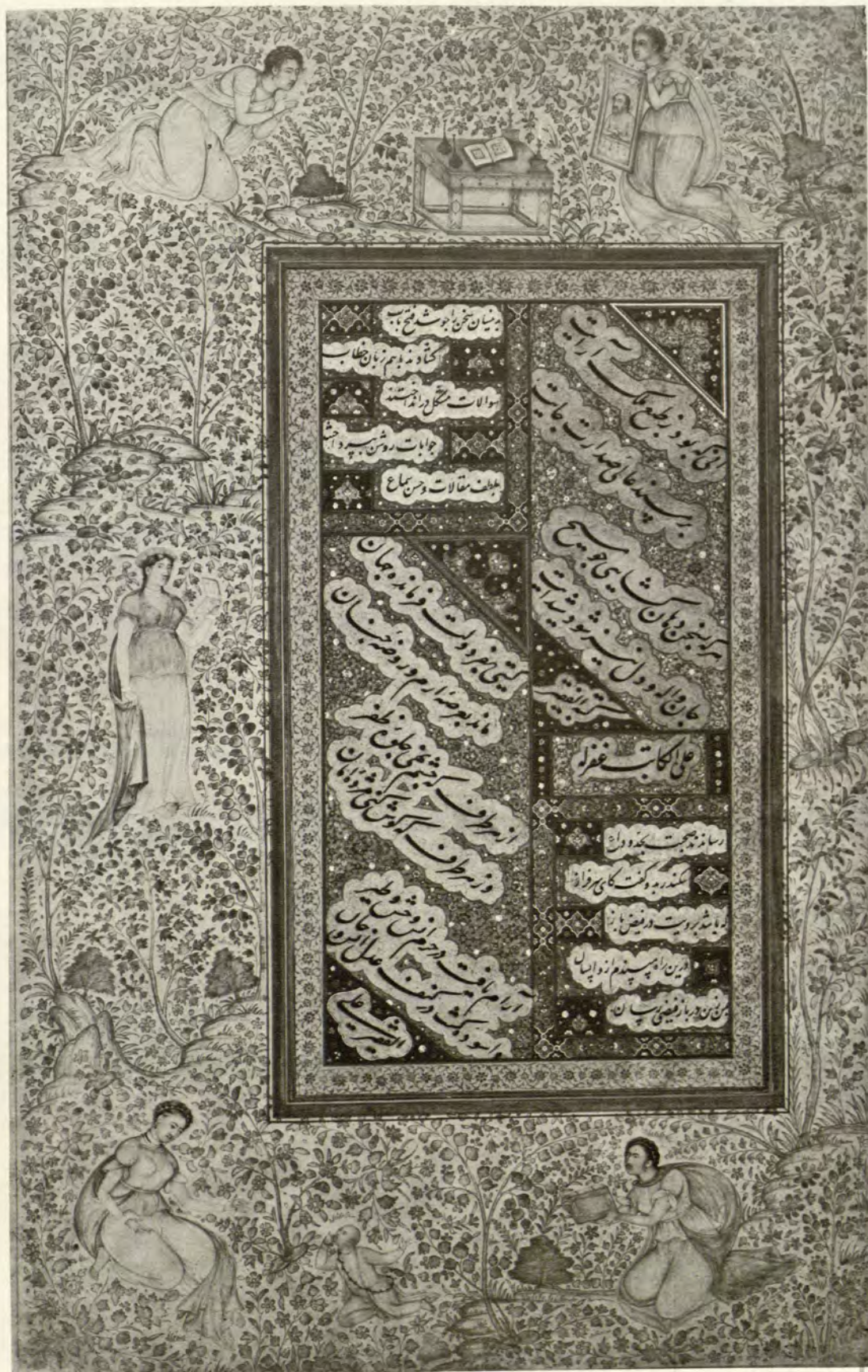
Ex-collection: Heeramaneck

54.116

*Illustrations, pp. 159–60; details, pp. 10, 161*

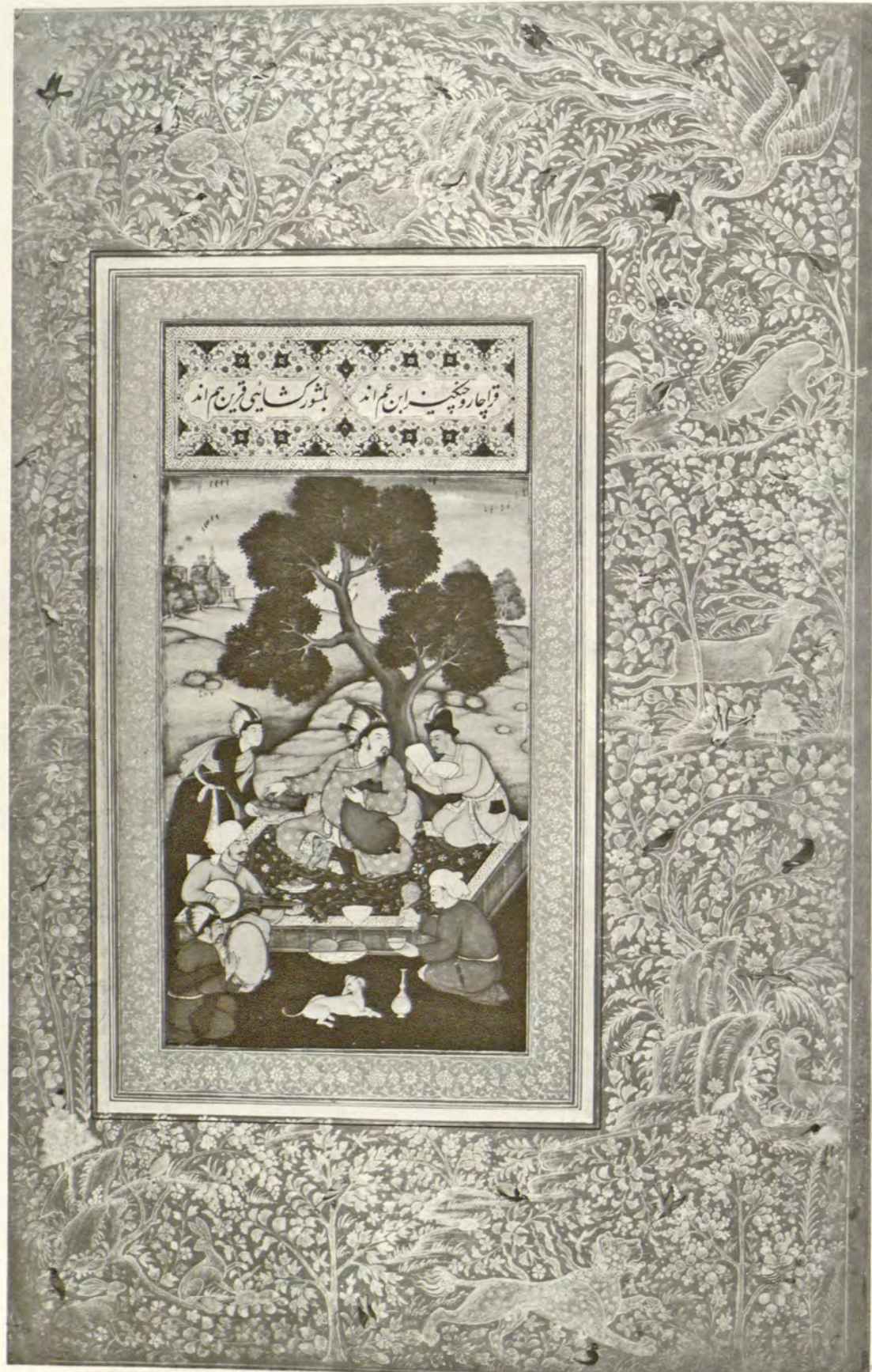
The recto borders show several of the types of work by artisans associated with an active library. Proceed-





Cat. no. 16a recto





Cat. no. 16a verso



ing counterclockwise from the top right, we see the burnishing (smoothing and polishing) of paper, the stamping of designs into a leather cover, the sizing of folios, the sawing of a bookstand by a woodmaker, the preparation of goldleaf, and a calligrapher at work. A verso folio with related activities is in the *Berlin Album* and would have been an appropriate facing page.

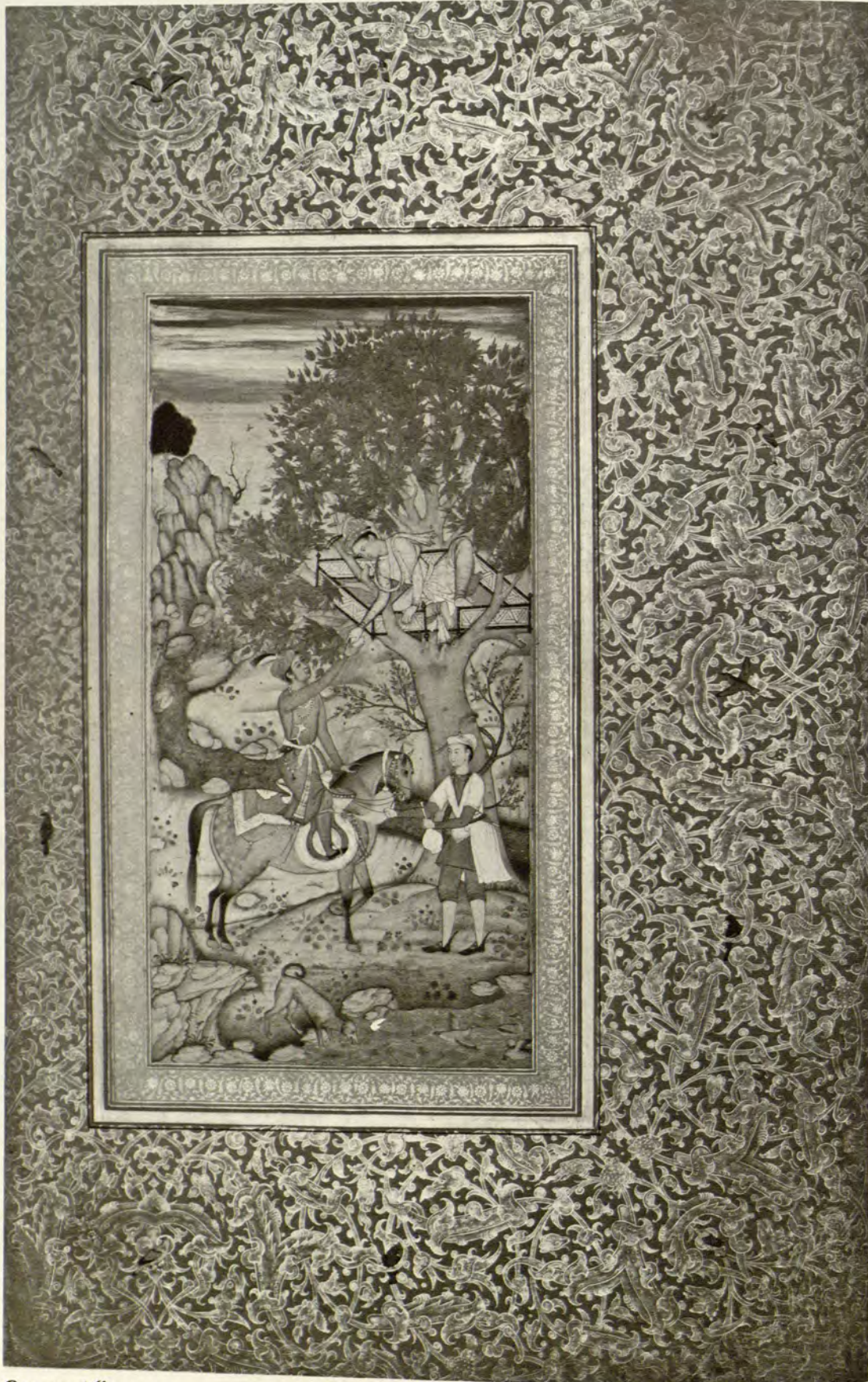
The work on the reverse, surrounded by particularly sumptuous marginal decoration, is of a subject traditional to Iranian painting. Unlike the general character of Mughal painting at the time, the intent here is not naturalism and specificity, but metaphor, with beautiful youths (frequently male) presented as emblems of divine beauty. We are shown generalized types, therefore, and not portraits; and a strong emotional rapport often exists among the figures.

Fig. 30. *A Mongol Chieftain and Attendants.*  
By Vilayat, early 17th century. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



Cat. no. 16b recto





Cat. no. 16b verso





Detail of cat. no. 16b verso

#### Comparative Illustrations

##### *A Young Prince with an Old Man and an Attendant*

From an album of Jahangir

Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City

PUBLISHED: *Beach GM*, no. 7; Suzanne Marshall, "The Poet and the Prince," *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin* 5, no. 4 (November 1978): 7-25.

Here a youth stands with his arm in the branches of a flowering tree, a direct analogy between his beauty and that of nature. The image is found also in Hindu India, but there it is expressed through the far more robust sexual imagery of the female yakshi.<sup>2</sup>

##### *A Young Man Holding a Book*

British Museum, London

PUBLISHED: *BM* 1976, no. 101.

##### *Portrait of a Young Man*

From the *Berlin Album*

Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

PUBLISHED: Kuhnelt and Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, pl. XX.

##### *Seated Youth*

From an album of Jahangir

Formerly Marteau Collection

PUBLISHED: Kuhnelt and Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, opposite p. 46. See also catalogue numbers 27 and 28.

This compositional type and aesthetic taste is closely associated with Aqa Riza and artists under his influence (such as Abu'l Hasan and Mirza Ghulam). Born in Iran, Aqa Riza came to India during Akbar's reign and was employed by Jahangir before his accession. It seems probable that the works listed here were made for Jahangir about 1600, for inscribed examples mention his name. For further discussion of these works and Aqa Riza, see *Beach GM*, pp. 92-95.





Detail of cat. no. 16c recto



Cat. no. 16c recto

# 16c [Recto] A CHAINED ELEPHANT

Attributed to Farrukh

Circa 1590

25.5 × 15 cm. (10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.), illustration only

## [Verso] MARGINAL FIGURES (adaptations from European prints)

Circa 1600

PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, "New Pictorial Evidence,"  
fig. 7; *Artl Brush*, no. 64

## [Verso] CALLIGRAPHY

Perhaps by Mir Ali al-Katib  
Iranian, early 16th century

From an album of Jahangir

42.5 × 26.5 cm. (16<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.), full page

Ex-collection: Heeramanek

56.12

*Detail*, p. 211; *colorplate*, p. 69

Other closely related *nim qalam* (lightly colored) drawings of animals are found in the Jahangir albums. Of those listed below, the second two are attributable to Farrukh (see page 107–11) on the basis of a signed page in the *Diwan* of Hafiz at Rampur.

### *An Elephant Resting*

From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*

Circa 1590

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: Wilkinson and Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum," pl. III/c.

### *A Chained Elephant*

From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*

Circa 1590

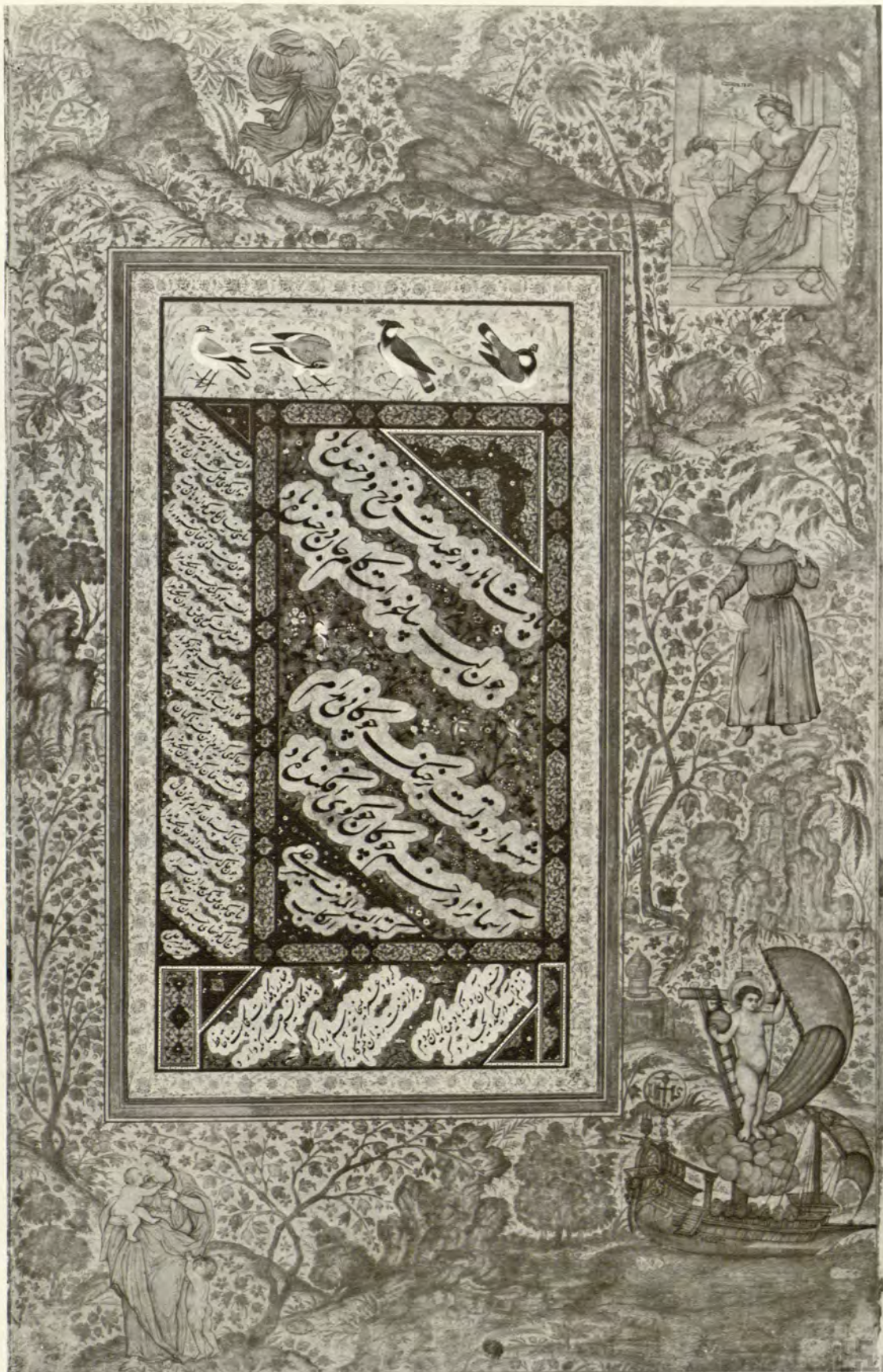
Former Imperial Library, Tehran

*Figure 12*

### *A Buffalo Fighting a Lioness*

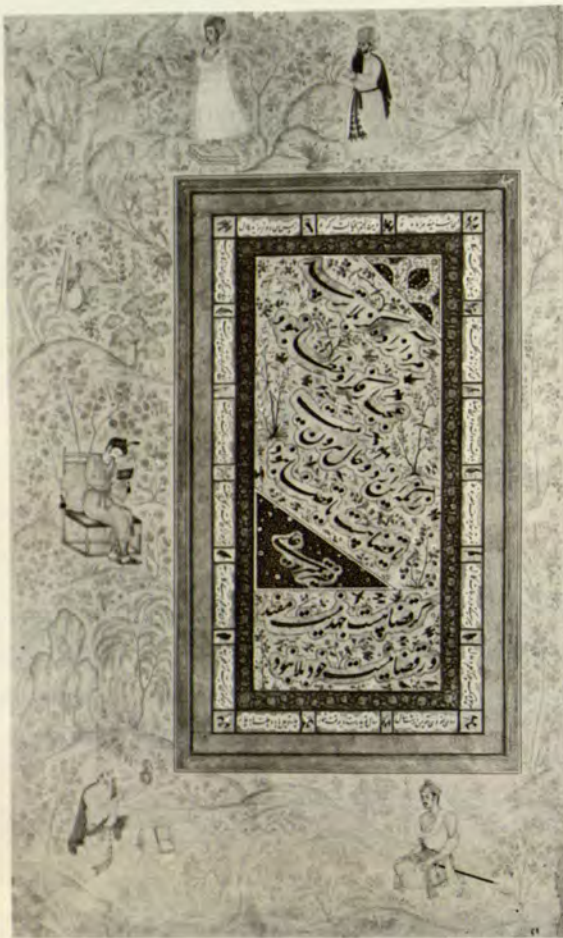
From an album of Jahangir





Cat. no. 16c verso





Cat. no. 16d recto

Circa 1595

Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City

PUBLISHED: *Beach GM*, no. 6.

Of the figures on the verso, the woman and child at the top right are copied from a print by Georg Pencz (1500–1550): *Geometria*, from *The Seven Liberal Arts*.<sup>3</sup> Pencz worked in the circle of Albrecht Dürer, whose prints were among the earliest to reach the Mughal court.<sup>4</sup> The remaining subjects (identified by Richard Ettinghausen) are God the Father, Saint Anthony, Christ and the Ship of Salvation (inscribed: "Rome 1580"), and a madonna with Christ and Saint John. The specific European sources are not known.

# 16d [Recto] MARGINAL FIGURES (A Prince Worshipping the Moon; An Astrologer and Courtiers)

Circa 1610

## [Recto] CALLIGRAPHY

By Mir Ali

Iranian, early 16th century

PUBLISHED: *Atıl Brush*, no. 65

## [Verso] JAMSHID WRITING ON A ROCK

By Abd as-Samad

Dated 1588

27 × 19.5 cm. (10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

From an album of Jahangir

42 × 26.5 cm. (16<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Private collection, Tehran  
63.4

*Illustration*, p. 26; *detail*, p. 28; *colorplate*, p. 73

Of particular interest on the recto is the figure at the upper left, a young prince worshipping the new moon. He is evidently an important person, for he is also shown in the margins of a page from the *Berlin Album*.<sup>5</sup> He has been identified as Prince Salim, but this is conjecture and unlikely; that he is a prince, however, is proven by his necklaces. The figure at the lower left is an astrologer, as is the man on the afterdeck in the painting *Noah's Ark* (cat. no. 13).

The representation of Jamshid writing on a rock, in which the great Iranian king—to whom Akbar was likened in the *Ramayana* manuscript inscription (see p. 135)—meditates on the brevity of life, may refer to the *Bustan* of Sa'di, where the scene is occasionally found.<sup>6</sup>

## ABD AS-SAMAD

Abd as-Samad was one of a group of major Iranian painters that either accompanied or followed Humayun to India after his visit to Tabriz in 1544, and whose activity and prestige were important elements in the evolving Mughal style. References in the *Akbar-nama* provide us with a summary of his career. Of the year 1544, for example, when Humayun was in exile and seeking help from the Iranian Shah Tahmasp, Abu'l Fazl wrote:

His Majesty Jahanbani Humayun first proceeded to view Tabriz, and when he came near it the governors and grandees came out to welcome him. . . . The exquisite and magical Khwaja Abdu-s-samad shirinqalam (sweet pen) also entered into service in this city and was much esteemed by that connoisseur of excellence. But from the hindrances of fate he could not accompany him.<sup>7</sup>

Humayun eventually set up an interim capital at Kabul where, in 1550: "Khwa. 'Abdu-s-samad and Mir Saiyid 'Ali who were celebrated for their skill in painting, came . . . and were graciously received."<sup>8</sup> And in the *Muraqqa Gulshan* there is an inscribed painting by the artist made for the Nauroz (or New Year) celebrations of 1551, when ceremonial presentations were made to the emperor.

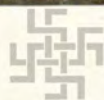
In 1556 Humayan returned to Delhi, and the young Akbar:





Detail of cat. no. 16d verso

[165]



Indira Gandhi National  
Centre for the Arts



there practised drawing in accordance with a sublime suggestion [of Humayun]. The skillful artists such as Mir Saiyid 'Ali and Khwaja 'Abdul-Samad Shiringqalm, who were among the matchless ones of this art, were in his service and were instructing him.<sup>9</sup>

A superb painting by Abd as-Samad in the *Muraqqa Gulshan* shows the prince presenting a painting to his father in an elaborate treehouse and must date from these years. A second Nauroz presentation work, dated 1557, also remains in the same album.

The *Hamza-nama* manuscript was begun about 1562, and Abd as-Samad served as supervisor of that project (see pp. 58–65). In 1577, the year of its probable completion, Abd as-Samad was made director of the imperial mint at the capital, Fatehpur Sikri, and in 1582, he was appointed an overseer. This was a testimonial to his integrity, for:

One of the occurrences was the appointment of acute and unavaricious overseers. As it came to the royal hearing that from the abundance of business and cupidity, there was much oppression in the conduct of the work of buying and selling, and that the traders were injured, he from a love of justice and from graciousness, ordered that various articles should be put into the charge of tactful and honest men in order that the unjust might be placed in the corner of failure.<sup>10</sup>

The following year he served under Prince Murad, in charge of the management of the royal household, and in 1586 was appointed Diwan (Finance Minister) of the province of Multan. Later, his son Muhammad Sharif, also a painter, became a close friend and confidant of Jahangir.<sup>11</sup>

It would seem, from the above information, that Abd as-Samad was a man of considerable administrative talent. We noted earlier (see p. 59) that he assumed charge of the *Hamza-nama* when, after seven years under Mir Sayyid Ali's direction, only four volumes were completed; and that he is credited with both speeding up the pace of production and reducing the cost. Moreover, he taught Akbar and trained the great Daswanth at the emperor's specific request.

His paintings during these years in India were few and highly conservative—or so it would seem from the remaining works known to us. *Jamshid Writing on a Rock*, for example, shows none of the interest in liveliness of color, originality of composition, or European techniques of modeling and perspective that were imbedded in the general vocabulary of Mughal painting by the 1580s. Abd as-Samad was a conservative. His compositions are flat and decorative, superbly composed, and filled with flawlessly executed minute detail; human figures are relatively expressionless, carefully framed and set off by landscape elements. He tends to use densely packed mountain forms of a dark tonality. Their animation comes through surface design and not from a sense of

weight, mass, or presence in space. These traits are as evident in *Jamshid Writing on a Rock* as in the Los Angeles *Hunting Scene* (fig. 3), which faced it in the original album. Yet, if he was incapable of originality or novelty, he clearly encouraged it in others, for his pupil Daswanth was the most intense and original of all Mughal painters before his death in 1584, and the *Hamza-nama* remains the most vital of all Mughal books. Furthermore, Abd as-Samad served as a continuous model of technical skill and control. In fact, it is the combination of sheer energy found in such painters as Daswanth or in the *Hamza-nama* manuscript and the control and technical refinement of Abd as-Samad that produced the great manuscript illustrations of the 1590s.

REFERENCES: W. Staude, "Abd us-Samad, der Akbar-Maler und das Millionenzimmer in Schonbrunn," *Belvedere* (1931): 155–60; R. Ettinghausen, "Abdu 's-Samad," in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 1: 15–20 and pls. 14–17; Stuart C. Welch and Martin Dickson, *The Houghton Shah-nama* (forthcoming).

Additional works with inscriptions to Abd as-Samad during his years in India:

*Two Young Men in a Garden*  
From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*  
Dated 1551

Former Imperial Library, Tehran  
PUBLISHED: Gray and Godard, *Iran: Persian Miniatures*, pl. XXIV; L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933), pl. CV/B.

*Akbar Presenting a Painting to Humayun*  
From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*  
Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1938), pl. 912; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pl. CIV/B.

*A Horse and Groom*  
From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*  
Dated 1557  
Former Imperial Library, Tehran

*A Horse and Groom*  
From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*  
Former Imperial Library, Tehran  
PUBLISHED: A. U. Pope, ed., *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 913B.

*The Arrest of Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali*  
Bodleian Library, Oxford  
PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, "Abdu 's-Samad," pl. 15.

*A Dervish Praising God while his Companions Sleep*  
From the *Muraqqa Gulshan*  
Former Imperial Library, Tehran  
PUBLISHED: Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pl. CIV/A.



*Darab-nama*  
Circa 1580  
British Library, London

*Razm-nama*  
Circa 1582–86  
City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Khamsa* of Nizami  
Dated 1596  
British Library, London  
PUBLISHED: Brown, *Indian Painting*, pl. XXVI.

*Hunting Scene*  
From an album of Jahangir  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art  
PUBLISHED: *Heeramanek*, no. 198; *Beach GM*, no. 5.  
*Figure 3*

In addition, a major drawing entitled *A Prince Resting under a Tree during a Hunt*, in a private collection, is reproduced in Welch, *Indian Drawings*, no. 10.

#### NOTES

1. The name, which is otherwise unknown, appears also on a portrait of Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti, in the Free Library of Philadelphia.
2. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas*. Reprint. (New Delhi, 1971).
3. Beach, "The Gulshan Album," no. 7a.
4. See Introduction, note 37.
5. E. Kuhnelt and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library, Berlin* (London, 1926), pl. 14.
6. E.g., I. Stchoukine, "Un Bustan de Sa'di illustré par des artistes mogols," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1937): 69.
7. *Akbar-nama*, 1: 443–45.
8. *Ibid.*, 1: 552.
9. *Ibid.*, 2: 67.
10. *Ibid.*, 3: 585.
11. His biography is given in *Maathir-ul-Umara*, 2: 816–19.

## The Leningrad Album

In 1739 the Iranian Nadir Shah attacked the Mughal capital at Delhi:

On the morning of the 11th an order went forth from the Persian Emperor for the slaughter of the inhabitants. The result may be imagined. . . . The *Chandni chauk*, the fruit market, the *Daribah bazar*, and the buildings around the *Masjid-i Jama* were set fire to and reduced to ashes. The inhabitants, one and all, were slaughtered. Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places people were butchered unresistingly. The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody; cloth, jewels, dishes of gold and silver, were acceptable spoil.<sup>1</sup>

The empire, already weakened by political corruption and internal fragmentation, was devastated and never recovered. And the extraordinary wealth of the Mughals became loot:

All the regal jewels and property and the contents of the treasury were seized by the Persian conqueror in the citadel. He thus became possessed of treasure to the amount of sixty *lacs* of rupees and several thousand *ashrafi*, plate of gold to the value of one *kror* of rupees, and the jewels, many of which were unrivalled in beauty by any in the world, were valued at about fifty *krors*. The Peacock throne alone, constructed at great pains in the reign of Shah Jahan, had cost one *kror* of rupees. Elephants, horses, and precious stuffs, whatever pleased the conqueror's eye, more indeed than can be enumerated, became his spoil. In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment.<sup>2</sup>

And it can be assumed that amidst the booty were manuscripts, albums, and other works of art. The six pages included here, for example, are among the greatest of all imperial Mughal paintings of the first half of the seventeenth century, yet they were in Iran by the mid-eighteenth century. Their present borders bear dates between 1746 and 1757 and signatures by Muhammad Sadiq and Hadi the Illuminator; both men worked on the borders, illuminations, and other decorations for the great Mughal album now in Leningrad.<sup>3</sup> This compilation was put together in Iran during these same years and was later purchased in Tehran and taken to Russia, where Nicholas II eventually presented it to the public Russian museum collections. The Freer pages seem to have been originally intended for inclusion in this album, for the borders and overall size of the folios are identical. Other *Jahangir-nama* and *Padshah-nama* illustrations remain in the Leningrad volume, which has been fully published (see below).

The albums were formed so that facing pages had perfectly symmetrical borders, as in, for example, catalogue number 17e–f. Recognizing this, it is clear that a sequence can be established for three further Freer folios. Catalogue number 17a was the right half of a double-page composition with catalogue number 17c, and the reverse of catalogue number 17c faced the reverse of catalogue number 17b. This arrangement is confirmed by the Persian numbers 26–28, which appear sequentially on each verso (cat. no. 17e–f were originally fols. 22–23). Three further dispersed pages are listed here, but from the character of the illustrations they probably came from a different section of the compilation. Two pages were sold in Paris in 1944, while the Freer acquired its pages in 1931, 1942, and 1945. Other pages must certainly have been sold as well and remain to be recognized. It is possible that the group was part of a second volume of the album, for A. Ivanov reported that only two pages of the *Leningrad Album* had been removed.

REFERENCES: Ivanov et al., *Album Indiyiskikh*.



Additional dispersed *Leningrad Album* pages:

Obverse: *A Mulla with Visitors* (above)

*A Picnic Scene* (below)

With borders attributed to Muhammad Baqir

Reverse: Calligraphies signed by Mir Imad and Imad al-Husayni, dated 1606 and 1614

With borders signed Muhammad Hadi, dated 1756–57

Fondation Custodia, Paris

PUBLISHED: *Acquisitions Recentes de Toutes Époques, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt* (Paris, 1974), no. 178.

Obverse: *A Meeting of Ascetics*

With borders attributed to Muhammad Baqir and Muhammad Sadiq

Reverse: Calligraphy signed by Imad al-Hasani

With borders signed by Muhammad Hadi, dated 1757–58

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: J. Soustiel and M. C. David, *Miniatures Orientales de l'Inde* (Paris, 1974), no. 15.

*Jahangir Watching an Elephant Fight*

Attributed here to Farrukh

With borders attributed to Muhammad Baqir

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PUBLISHED: *Metropolitan Museum Colorprints*, no. 15.

Cat. no. 17a verso



17a

## JAHANGIR PREFERRING A SUFI SHAIKH TO KINGS

From the *Leningrad Album*

By Bichitr

Circa 1615–18

Borders signed by Muhammad Sadiq, mid-18th century

25.3 × 18.1 cm. (10 × 7 1/8 in.); 47.9 × 33 cm. (18 7/8 × 13 in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice"; Ettinghausen, pl. 14; Welch IMP, pl. 22; M. C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for His Style," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38: 13–14. 42.15

*Details*, pp. 27, 30; *colorplate*, p. 79

Early in his memoirs, Jahangir made a reference important to our understanding of this work:

Till he was 28 years old, no child of my father had lived, and he was continually praying for the survival of a son to dervishes and recluses, by whom spiritual approach to the throne of Allah is obtained. As the great master, Khwaja Mu'inu-d-din Chishti, was the fountainhead of most of the saints of India, he considered that in order to obtain this object he should have recourse to the blessed threshold, and resolved within himself that if Almighty God should bestow a son on him he would, by way of complete humility, go on foot from Agra to his blessed mausoleum.<sup>4</sup>

The dargah or shrine of this great saint of the Chishti sect was at Ajmer, where Jahangir lived between 1613 and 1616. The aged Shaikh Husain, a direct descendant of Mu'in-ud-din Chishti, was in charge of the dargah, and it is to him that Jahangir is presenting a book in this illustration.<sup>5</sup> He had had an unhappy career, for he and the highly influential Abu'l Fazl were personal enemies. He was attacked and then banished to Mecca, but in 1600–1601 a pardon was arranged and Shaikh Husain returned to his duties at Ajmer.

The meaning of the painting has been lengthily and brilliantly discussed by Richard Ettinghausen (see below), who freely translated the couplets at top and bottom as follows:

Shah Nur-ud-din Jahangir, son of Akbar, the emperor. He is emperor in form and spirit through the grace of God.

Although to all appearances kings stand before him, He looks inwardly towards the dervishes (for guidance).<sup>6</sup>

Ettinghausen argued that it is precisely this choice of holy men over secular rulers, of the divine over the mundane, that is the subject of the illustration. He notes the putti above, who seem both dazzled by Jahangir's splendor and distressed that their emblems of worldly sovereignty are rejected; the arrows on



the left, for example, are broken and useless. It is, however, also necessary to remember that the presence and importance of Shaikh Husain is at the same time a celebration of the source of Mughal dynastic power. Of additional importance is the hourglass throne, on which angels are inscribing: "O Shah, may the span of your life be a thousand years"—an antidote to the symbolic acknowledgment of time passing.

Below the shaikh, three men crowd the left margin: a Turkish sultan (who seems a general type, rather than a specific portrait), King James of England, and a Hindu. The latter portrait is of the painter Bichitr and—as interpreted by Stuart C. Welch—he seems to be holding a painting of himself bowing to Jahangir. Unless the iconography of the painting is somewhat less consciously planned than Ettinghausen's discussion allows, the presence of a menial artist among such exalted company is inexplicable. As we noted earlier (on p. 29), the portrait of James I is copied from an English work by John de Critz, and this would almost certainly have reached the court through Thomas Roe (who remained there until 1618). Roe noted in his memoirs that a picture of James I was exhibited at the New Year Darbar in 1616. A similar figure of a Turk, also derived from a European model,<sup>7</sup> appears in the earliest allegorical portrait known, the *Darbar of Jahangir* (cat. no. 31), painted at Ajmer about 1615. Since Jahangir's age seems consistent in both works, and since the shaikh in this illustration is the head of the shrine at Ajmer, where Jahangir lived between 1613 and 1616, a date of about 1616 seems reasonable.<sup>8</sup> It is at this time, too, that the *Tuzuk* records the following verse:

Although we have the business of kingship before us,  
Every moment we more and more think on the dervishes.

If the heart of our Dervish be gladdened by us  
We count that to be the profit of our kingship.<sup>9</sup>

This is the earliest painting yet identified by Bichitr, but clearly an artist of such conceptual power would have had a considerable earlier career. For a recent discussion of the painter and a full list of known works, see *Beach GM*, pp. 101–7.

On the reverse is a calligraphic panel signed: "The poor sinner 'Imad al-Hasani, may God forgive his sins and secret faults." The text itself reads:

It was from his own arrogance and pride that man  
turned the key in the lock of love, when abundance  
and joy were his, and found too late, alas, his cup  
filled only with bitterness.

The borders are signed by Hadi the Illuminator and dated A.H. 1169 (A.D. 1755–56).

REFERENCES: *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615–1619*, edited by William Foster. Reprint. (Liechtenstein, 1967); Michael J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington, Ky., 1970).



Cat. no. 17a recto

## 17b JAHANGIR EMBRACING SHAH ABBAS

From the *Leningrad Album*

By Abu'l Hasan

Circa 1618

Borders signed by Muhammad Sadiq, dated A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1746–47)

23.8 × 15.4 cm. (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); 47.9 × 33 cm. (18<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13 in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, pl. 12; Welch *IMP*, pl. 21; Beach, "Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan," pp. 11–14.

45.9

*Illustration, p. 31; detail, p. 180; colorplate, p. 74; cover*  
The radiant and powerful Jahangir is shown comforting his meek, submissive cousin, Shah Abbas of Iran. This has nothing to do with historical fact, however, and is pure wish-fulfillment on Jahangir's part.

The rulers were intense rivals, the focus of their mutual antagonism centering on Qandahar, in Af-





Cat. no. 17c

ghanistan, a territory and fortress under Mughal control. At the end of 1606, it was stormed unsuccessfully by Iranian troops. Five years later, an official ambassador, Yadgar Ali Beg, arrived from Iran to meet with the Mughal emperor and (in the words of Shah Abbas's accompanying letter) to:

convey to the sincere mind of your well-wisher the good tidings of the safety of your angelic person and the health of your temperament that is of the brightness of the sun and increases joy. It is hoped that the tree of hereditary friendship and assiduousness, and the garden of intimacy and regard, both apparent and spiritual, which by the irrigation of the rivers of affection and the brooks of sincere regard acquire great splendour and greenness, not casting their leaves, may set in motion the cord of intimacy and drive away the misfortune of estrangement by the arrival of correspondence, which is the communication of the soul, and may connect by spiritual chains our visible friendship, and may favour the course and accomplishment of business.<sup>10</sup>

When Yadgar Ali left the court in 1613, he was accompanied by a Mughal embassy headed by Khan Alam, who remained at the Safavid court until 1620.

In 1615 a second Iranian ambassador, Mustafa Beg, came to the Mughal court, followed in 1616 by a lavish ambassadorial mission led by Muhammad Riza Beg. Finally, late in 1620, a fourth Iranian embassy—under Zambril Beg—arrived, also professing friendship and mutual trust. None of these fulsome demonstrations of friendship, however, prevented the Iranians from seizing and holding Qandahar Fort in 1622, an immense blow to Mughal prestige. When Khan Alam went to Iran, the painter Bishan Das accompanied him to make portraits of the shah and his court.<sup>11</sup> It has been thought that Mughal depictions of the Iranian ruler must postdate Bishan Das's return in 1620, but it is unthinkable that portraits of the two rulers were not regular items of ambassadorial exchange during these years of intense contact. The ultimate inspiration for this portrait must also have come to India with Sir Thomas Roe, for such compositions are based on English allegories (see pages 30–31). The inscription, however, notes the honorific title Nadir-al-zaman (Zenith of the World), evidently given to the painter Abu'l Hasan in 1618, the year we ascribe to the painting. For comments on Abu'l Hasan, see pages 26–29. Other allegorical portraits are included here among the *Kevorkian Album* pages (e.g., cat. no. 18b–d).

On the reverse is a calligraphic panel signed by Imad al-Hasani and dated A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610–11). The borders are signed by Hadi and dated 1756–57.

## 17c JAHANGIR ENTERTAINS SHAH ABBAS

From the *Leningrad Album*

Circa 1618

Borders attributed to Muhammad Sadiq, dated A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1746–47)

25 × 18.3 cm. (9<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); 47.9 × 33 cm. (18<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13 in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: *Ettinghausen*, pl. 13.  
42.16

*Colorplate, p. 78*

This, too, represents a purely imaginary meeting of Jahangir with the Iranian ruler, and again Shah Abbas is in a conspicuously deferential posture. The inscriptions at top and bottom are translated:

Shah Jahangir and Shah Abbas, two brave young kings, representatives of God—they seized with joy the cup of Jam [i.e., the world]. Hearing the call to world dominion, both heroes and world conquerors united in the purpose of bringing together all people as friends and brothers in peace. May God give them victory.



The angels hold a genealogy of the Mughal, and in the gold half-circle at the top is written: "Likeness of his Majesty Nur-ad-din Jahangir Padshah."

At the lower left is Asaf Khan, the brother of Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan, whose daughter was Mumtaz Mahal, for whom Shah Jahan built the Taj Mahal. Next to Shah Abbas is Khan Alam, who was sent in 1613 as Jahangir's official representative to the Iranian court. The *Maathir-ul-Umara* observes of this event:

Khan Alam paid his respects, and the Shah showed him much honour and observed that "as between us and the noble King Jahangir there is the relationship of brotherhood, and as he has called you brother, the brother of a brother is also a brother." Thereupon he embraced him in a brotherly fashion.<sup>12</sup>

The shah is termed brother in the inscription written above his head perhaps by Jahangir himself.

Richard Ettinghausen has identified several sources for the luxurious objects set before the rulers. The dark table and the white ewer are Italian, the small brown porcelain cup is Chinese, and the glass Venetian. Khan Alam holds a gold sculpture *Diana on a Stag*, of a type made at Augsburg in the late sixteenth century. Such exotic objects were coveted items of exchange. Jahangir wrote in the *Tuzuk* of Mustafa Beg's arrival from Iran in 1615 and the gifts he brought:

my exalted brother sent him with a letter consisting of expressions of friendship, and assurances of sincerity, with several horses, camels, and some stuffs from Aleppo, which had come for that fortunate brother from the direction of Rum [Byzantium]. Nine large European hunting dogs, for which a request had gone, were also sent by him.<sup>13</sup>

On the reverse is mounted a calligraphic panel signed:

Written by the slave, the sinner Imad al-Hasani, may God forgive his sins and secret faults, in . . . the year 1017 [A.D. 1608].

The central panel can be translated:

In a mother united in sympathy, a man always has a friend.  
When the soul is stricken in grief, he has that friend.  
In days to come, when a mistress breaks his heart  
and it is torn to pieces as a broken rose—he has a friend.

The borders are by Hadi and are dated A.H. 1170 (A.D. 1756–57).



Cat. no. 17d

## 17d JAHANGIR GIVING BOOKS TO SHAIKHS

From the *Jahangir-nama* and *Leningrad Album*  
Circa 1620

Borders attributed to Muhammad Baqir, mid-18th century

31.7 × 20.5 cm. (12½ × 8⅞ in.); 47.9 × 33 cm. (18⅞ × 13 in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," pp. 112–13 and fig. 10.

31.20

*Details, pp. 8, 33; colorplate, p. 80*

After leaving Ajmer in November 1616, Jahangir went through Gujarat and Malwa, returning to Agra early in 1619. The scene shown here may be tentatively identified with an event of these years:

On Tuesday, the 16th, I again presented the Shaikhs of Gujarat, who were in attendance, with robes of honour and maintenance-lands. To each of them I gave a book from my special library, such as the *Tafsir-i-kashshaf*, the *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, and the *Rauzat-ul-ahhab*. I wrote on the back of the books the day of my arrival in Gujarat and the day of presentation of the books.<sup>14</sup>



The year was 1618, and the white-bearded man at the bottom right of the court enclosure is Muqarrib Khan, governor of Gujarat.

The work bears no contemporary attribution but seems stylistically distinctive. It is probably by a painter who began his career early in Jahangir's reign, for he seems relatively free of Akbari stylizations. His colors are very subdued, compositional rhythms gentle, and brushwork free of any outward impressiveness. He is most indebted to Abu'l Hasan for his style, it would seem, for like that artist he is primarily concerned with modeling by light and shade. The highlights on the sleeve of the dark robed figure receiving the book, for example, are extraordinarily subtle and successful in giving a sense of three dimensionality and physical presence. If we compare this scene to the *Darbar of Jahangir* by Abu'l Hasan (cat. no. 31), however, we find that the grouping of figures in space is far more successful in the *Jahangir-nama* illustration.

On the reverse is a calligraphic inscription dated A.H. 1020 (A.D. 1611) and signed: "Poor wretched sinner Imad al-Hasani—may his sins be forgiven." The borders are signed by Hadi and dated A.H. 1169 (A.D. 1755–56).

### The *Jahangir-nama*

As the events of twelve years of *Jahangir-nama* have been recorded, I ordered the clerks of my private library to make one volume of these twelve years, and to prepare a number of copies so that I might give them to my special servants, and that they might be sent to the various cities, so that administrations and the auspicious might adopt them as their code.<sup>15</sup>

Somewhat later, but in the same year (1618–19), the emperor again wrote:

At this time two copies of the *Jahangir-nama* that had been prepared were laid before me. One of these I had some days previously given to the *Madaru-l-mulk* (centre of the kingdom), Itimadu'l-d-daula, and the other I on this day bestowed on (my adopted) son, Asaf Khan.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to these volumes—and we do not know if they were illustrated—there was a copy being prepared for Jahangir himself. He had noted at the same time:

On this day Abu'l Hasan, the painter, who has been honoured with the title Nadiru-z-zaman, drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the *Jahangir-nama*, and brought it to me.<sup>17</sup>

This suggests that a copy covering the first twelve years was being prepared for the emperor also. It had been worked on throughout his reign, for he refers in 1612 to an illustration that he requested for the

book.<sup>18</sup> His copy no longer exists intact, but in various collections are known several pages that must have been made for the imperial *Jahangir-nama*; they are listed below. Some seem contemporary in date with the actual events, while others are in styles that have hitherto been thought innovative aspects of the later *Padshah-nama* (or *Shah Jahan-nama*) (cat. no. 17e–f). (In fact, several paintings by artists who worked on both manuscripts seem contemporary.)<sup>19</sup> A further group of illustrations, included in the list below, is considerably later in date and consists of copies of earlier compositions or perhaps reworkings of original surfaces.

For a recent discussion of the manuscript see *Beach GM*, pp. 60–65. The list of dispersed pages discussed there is expanded here.

### Additional Dispersed pages from the *Jahangir-nama*:

In the list below, identified episodes are given with textual sources to *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; or Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge. 2 vols. Reprint. (Delhi, 1968).

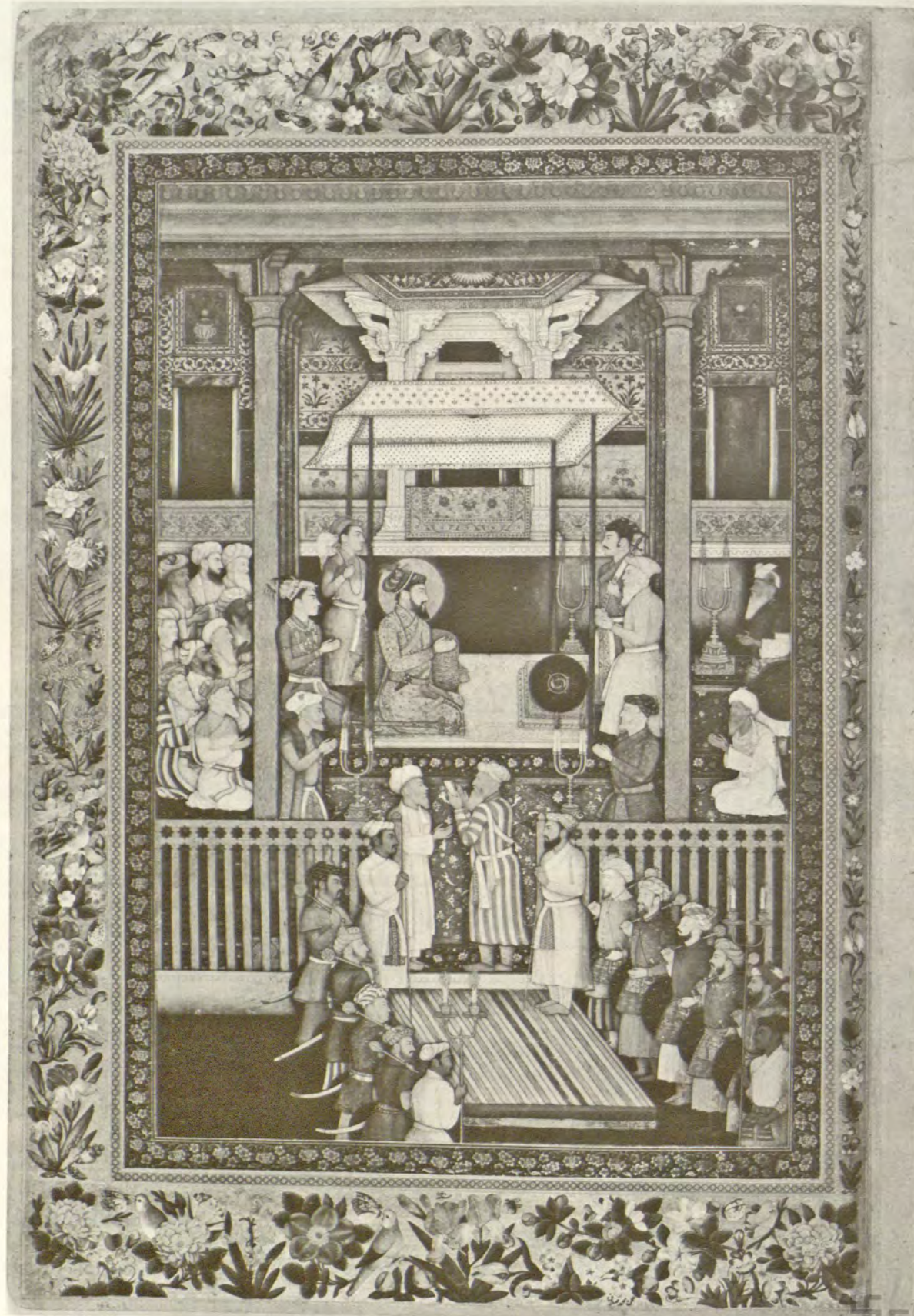
- |          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1: 2     | <i>The Birth of Jahangir</i><br>Attributed to Bishan Das<br>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston<br>PUBLISHED: <i>Beach GM</i> , no. 15;<br><i>Welch IMP</i> , pl. 16.                                                    |
| 1: 3     | <i>Celebrations at the Accession of Jahangir</i><br>(double page; frontispiece)<br>Signed by Abu'l Hasan<br>Academy of Sciences, Leningrad<br>PUBLISHED: Ivanov et al., <i>Albom Indijskikh</i> , pls. 7 and 32. |
| 1: 54    | <i>The Capture of Mirza Hasan</i><br>Chester Beatty Library, Dublin<br>PUBLISHED: J. V. S. Wilkinson,<br><i>Mughal Painting</i> (London, 1948), pl. 5.                                                           |
| 1: 68–69 | <i>Jahangir Punishes Prince Khusrav</i><br>Raza Library, Rampur<br>PUBLISHED: Brown, <i>Indian Painting</i> , pl. XLIX.                                                                                          |
| 1: 115   | <i>Jahangir Weighs Prince Khurram</i><br>British Museum, London<br>PUBLISHED: <i>Welch IMP</i> , pl. 18;<br>Barrett and Gray, <i>Painting of India</i> , p. 103.                                                 |





- 1: 117 *Jahangir Watching a Snake and Spider Fight*  
Raza Library, Rampur  
PUBLISHED: Brown, *Indian Painting*, pl. XIX.
- 1: 216 *Jahangir Receives Presents from Goa*  
Raza Library, Rampur
- 1: 253 *Jahangir Visits the Tomb of Sheikh Mu'in-ud-din Chishti*  
Raza Library, Rampur
- 1: 256 *Jahangir Dispensing Food at Ajmer*  
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay  
PUBLISHED: M. Bussagli and C. Sivaramamurti, *7000 Years of Indian Art* (New York, n.d.), fig. 368.
- 1: 265, 295, or 379 *Jahangir Celebrates the Festival of ab-pashi*  
Attributed here to Anant  
Raza Library, Rampur  
PUBLISHED: Brown, *Indian Painting*, frontispiece.
- 1: 287 *Jahangir Shoots a Lioness*  
Attributed here to Nanha  
Indian Museum, Calcutta  
PUBLISHED: Brown, *Indian Painting*, pl. XLII.
- 1: 353 *Jahangir Examines a Tamarind Tree*  
Attributed here to Manohar  
Raza Library, Rampur
- 1: 355 *Jahangir Converses with Gosain Jadrup*  
Musée Guimet, Paris  
PUBLISHED: I. Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1929), pl. VII.
- 2: 80 *Jahangir in Darbar*  
Keir Collection, London  
PUBLISHED: Robinson, ed., *Keir*, V.79.  
A second version is in the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad; see Grek, *Indiyskikh Miniatyur* (Moscow, 1971), pl. 22.
- 2: 93 *Jahangir Receives Prince Parviz*  
Attributed here to Manohar  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
PUBLISHED: Beach GM, no. 14; Welch IMP, pl. 17.  
*Birth of a Prince*  
Academy of Sciences, Leningrad  
PUBLISHED: Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 174.
- Birth of a Prince*  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
PUBLISHED: A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), frontispiece and p. 17.
- Jahangir at the Jharoka Window*  
Signed by Abu'l Hasan  
Private collection  
PUBLISHED: Sotheby, March 23, 1973, lot 6.
- Jahangir Distributing Alms at Fatehpur Sikri (?)*  
Victoria Memorial, Calcutta  
PUBLISHED: Asok Das, "A Scene from the Jahangirnama in the Victoria Memorial," *Bulletin of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta* 2 (1968): 5-10.
- Jahangir Entertaining Shaikhs*  
Inscribed to Abu'l Hasan  
Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd  
PUBLISHED: Beach GM, no. 13; Binney Collection, no. 52.
- Jahangir Hunting*  
City Palace Museum, Jaipur  
PUBLISHED: Asok Das, *Treasures of Indian Painting from the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum* (Jaipur, 1976), pl. I.
- Jahangir in the Shrine at Ajmer*  
Staatliche Museen, East Berlin  
PUBLISHED: M. R. Anand and H. Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen* (Dresden, 1967), pl. 6.
- A Procession (The Wedding of Prince Khurram?)*  
Attributed here to Bishan Das  
Raza Library, Rampur  
PUBLISHED: Brown, *Indian Painting*, pl. XXXI.
- Scene at Ajmer*  
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay





Cat. no. 17e





Cat. no. 17f





Detail of cat. no. 17e



# 17e-f SHAH JAHAN HONORS THE RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY

From the *Padshah-nama* and *Leningrad Album*  
Circa 1635

Borders signed by Muhammad Sadiq and  
dated A.H. 1165 (A.D. 1751–52)

30.5 × 23.1 cm. (12 × 9 1/8 in.), each illustration;  
47.9 × 33 cm. (18 7/8 × 13 in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: *Welch IMP*, pls. 31–32.  
42.17–18

*Illustrations*, pp. 174–75; *detail*, p. 37

Unlike his predecessors, Akbar and Jahangir, Shah Jahan was a conservative and relatively orthodox Muslim and revived the persecution of Hindus and the destruction of their temples. His personality, too, was more formal. Jahangir was willing to entertain eccentric religious devotees at court, for example, and in one instance visited a particularly devout ascetic in his cave retreat—practices his son never adopted.

Stuart Cary Welch has suggested that this elaborate feast is on the occasion of the marriage of Dara Shikoh, the prince kneeling just behind Shah Jahan. Dara appears to be the same age as in a wedding scene—by the same painter—in the Windsor *Padshah-nama* (fols. 123v–124r).

On the reverse are calligraphic panels, probably made in the early eighteenth century by Imad al-Husaini.

## The *Padshah-nama*

An existing volume of the *Padshah-nama* in the Royal Library, Windsor, contains text and forty-four illustrations for episodes dating between the departure of Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) for Mewar in 1614 and soon after Alamgir's wedding in 1634. This is not a complete copy, and several episodes are not in sequence. Revisions to the emperor's memoirs were made, and these alterations, combined with his eventual imprisonment by his son Aurangzeb, may have conspired against the completion of a fully illustrated imperial copy.

The Windsor volume was in Lucknow in 1776, according to a seal, and from there it was given to the Royal Library. The Freer pages and some probable pages in Leningrad were, however, in Iran by the mid-eighteenth century, the date of the marginal decorations. The manuscript is discussed and dispersed pages listed in *Beach GM*, pp. 78–85; this information is not repeated here. A full publication by Robert Skelton and Stuart Cary Welch is planned.

## NOTES

1. Elliott and Dowson, *History*, 8: 88. (See Introduction, note 3.)
2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
3. The margins of catalogue number 17d can be attributed to Muhammad Baqir, by whom there is a dated page in A.H. 1172 (A.D. 1758–59) in the *Leningrad Album*. While the earliest margins by both Hadi and Muhammad Sadiq are dated A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1746–47), the majority of dated pages were executed between A.H. 1170 and 1172 (A.D. 1756–59). It may well be that the political turmoil following the death of Nadir Shah in 1746–47 and the seizure of power by Karim Khan Zand about 1750 forced the momentary abandonment of such projects as this *muraqqa*.
4. *Tuzuk*, 1:1.
5. The identification was made in Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," pp. 102–3.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
7. M. C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for His Style," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38: figs. 11–12.
8. In Ettinghausen, commentary for pl. 14, the date of 1625 was proposed.
9. *Tuzuk*, 2: 304.
10. *Ibid.*, 1: 196.
11. *Beach GM*, pp. 107–9.
12. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, 1: 390.
13. *Tuzuk*, 1: 283.
14. *Ibid.*, 1: 439–40.
15. *Ibid.*, 2: 26.
16. *Ibid.*, 2: 37.
17. *Ibid.*, 2: 20. It has been asserted that *Celebrations at the Accession of Jahangir*, a *Jahangir-nama* page in the *Leningrad Album*, is the illustration referred to, whereas it seems instead to be datable to circa 1605. See *Beach GM*, p. 63.
18. *Tuzuk*, 1: 215.
19. Catalogue number 17d, for example, is immediately comparable to folio 46v of the *Padshah-nama* and may well be by the same artist, Lalchand.

## The *Kevorkian Album*

Sometime in the late 1920s, an English businessman on home leave from Alexandria, Egypt, reputedly found an album of Indian paintings and calligraphies in a small antique shop in Scotland. Having bought it for 100 pounds, he took it to Sotheby's for evaluation, with the result that it was placed in auction (December 12, 1929, lots 101–48) and sold to Hagop Kevorkian for 10,500 pounds. In a subsequent legal battle between Kevorkian and the auction house, the authenticity of the works was questioned but upheld,<sup>1</sup> and in 1939 five pages were sold to the Freer Gallery. Four additional pages followed in 1948, and the re-





Detail of cat. no. 7

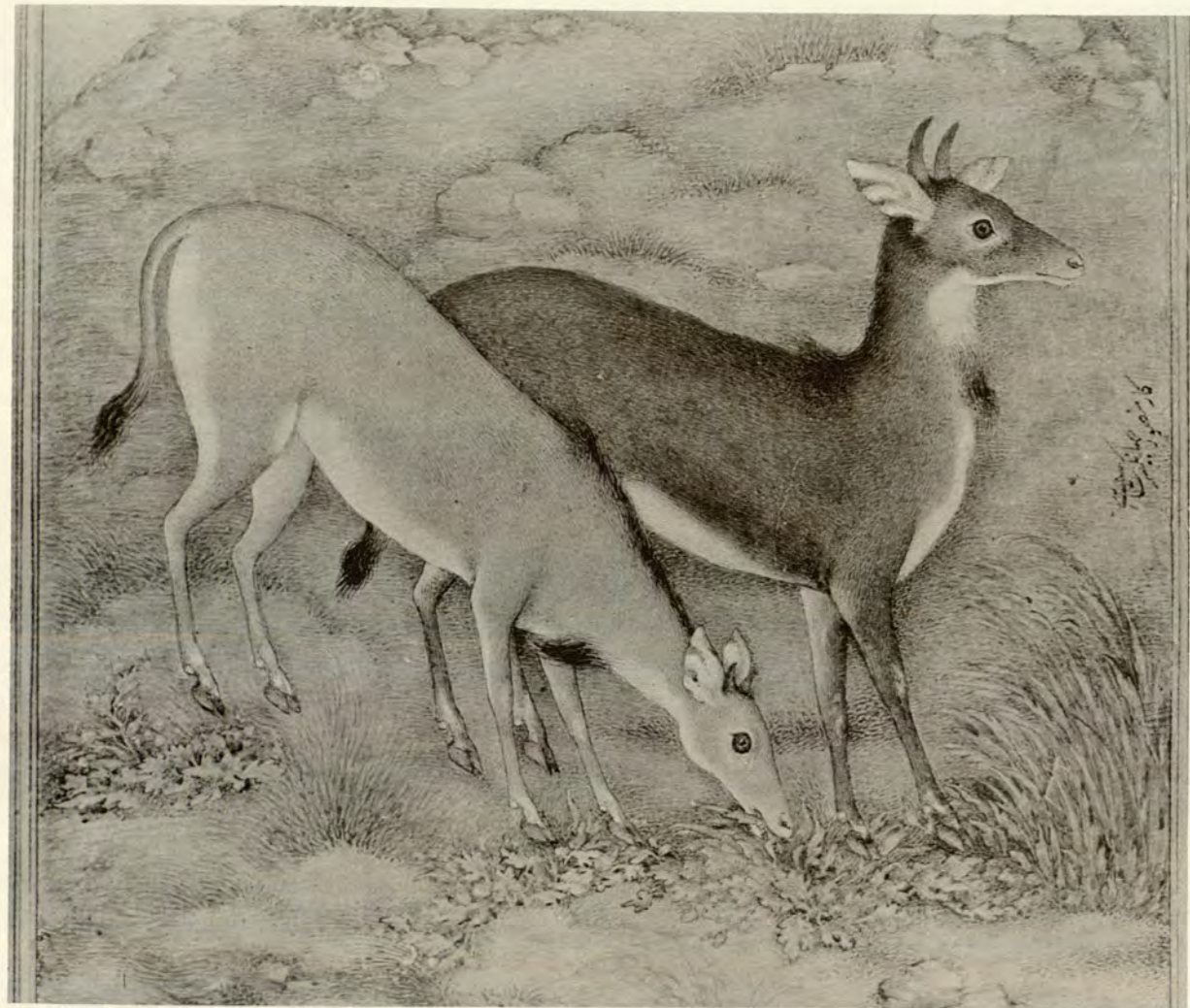
maining thirty-seven illustrated folios, covers, and four illuminated pages were purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

The album—since termed the *Kevorkian Album*—consists chiefly of portraits of the Mughal emperors and nobles, animal studies, and calligraphies. These are surrounded by elaborate floral borders typical of the Shah Jahan period, and one of the illuminated rosettes in New York bears an ornamental inscription in homage to that ruler.

Several of the illustrations in the album are known in other versions (e.g., cat. no. 18b–d), and questions arise as to which of these—if any—is the original, and what relationship (in terms of date, hand, and motivation) exists among the copies. Most of the works have an inscribed attribution to a major Mughal artist;

on catalogue number 18e, for example, is written (at the right): “work of Mansur, of the court of Jahangir.” This artist is lauded in Jahangir’s memoirs as his greatest animal painter, and a work of reliable authenticity is included here as catalogue number 7. It is impossible, however, to accept that both works are by the same hand (compare details of cat. nos. 7 and 18e). The intricate and elaborately modeled landscape of catalogue number 18e is very different from the direct and simple presentation of landscape elements in the *Babur-nama* page, for example. Moreover, the light and sketchy quality typical of Mansur’s grasses and vegetation and the overall meticulousness of his draftsmanship are absent from the *Kevorkian Album* page.





Detail of cat. no. 18e

A second comparison helps us to see that this is by no means an isolated example. *Jahangir Shooting the Head of Malik Ambar* (cat. no. 18c) is an iconographically superb portrait. It is inscribed to Abu'l Hasan, Nadir-al-zaman, but when we compare it to *Jahangir Embracing Shah Abbas* (cat. no. 17b), from the *Leningrad Album*, signed by the same artist, the qualitative differences are even more apparent. In catalogue number 17b, the emperor's garment is carefully modeled to reveal how it covers the body beneath, and a sense of substantiality and physical presence is created. In *Jahangir Shooting the Head of Malik Ambar*, there is no concession to the play of light on the surface of the emperor's robe, nor does the cloth seem to enfold any forms beneath it; it is completely flat, as if cut from wallpaper. Furthermore, the face

lacks the sense of personality found in catalogue number 17b, and this is the focus of Abu'l Hasan's interest in all his authentic works. A close correspondence seems to exist between a major group of *Kevorkian Album* pages, such as the two just discussed, and paintings made in the early nineteenth century for the imperial court at Delhi.<sup>2</sup> It seems very likely, therefore, that several folios are late copies of imperial album pages of the first half of the seventeenth century.

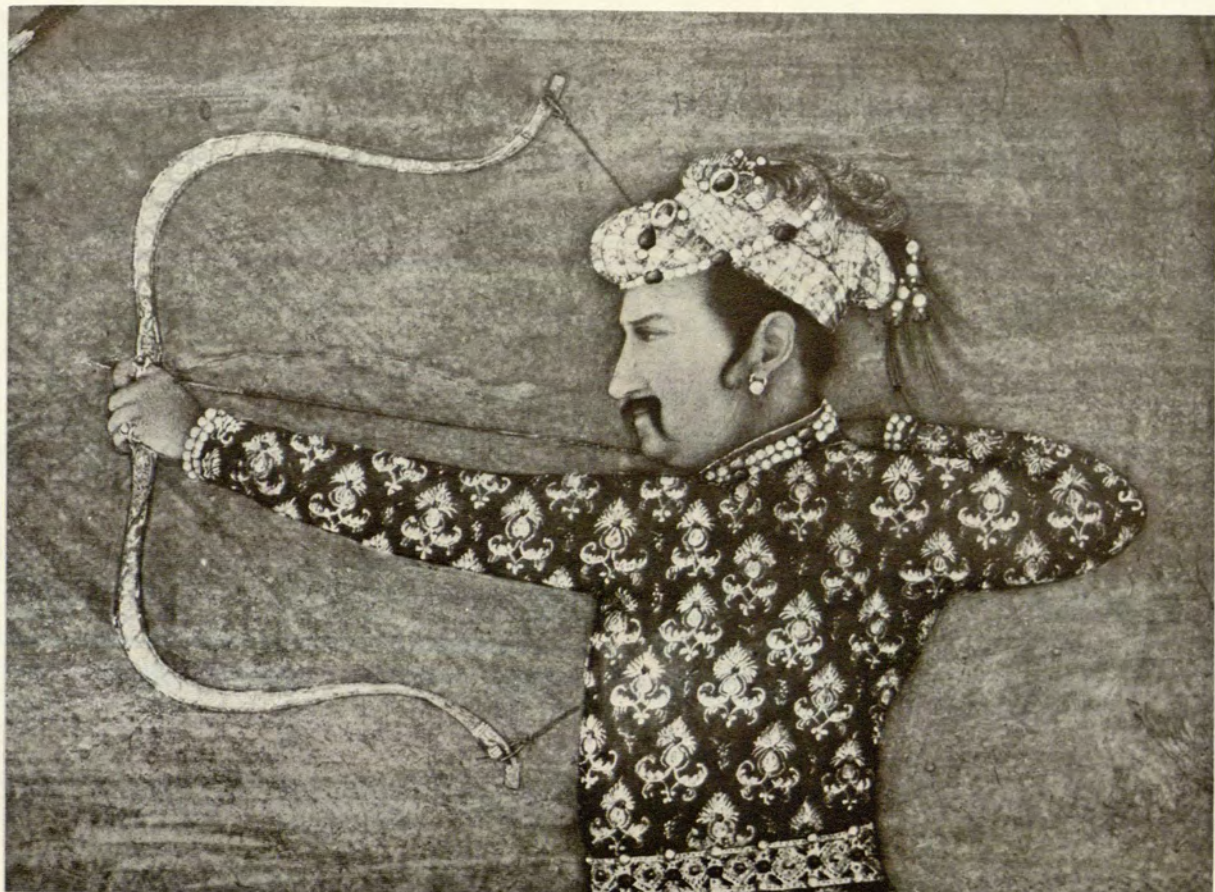
A more difficult judgment is demanded by *Jahangir Holding a Globe* (cat. no. 18b). Compared to *Jahangir Embracing Shah Abbas*, there is now little difference in terms of technical skill. The modeling of cloth and flesh, or the drawing of the jewels, is meticulous and precise in both illustrations. If we examine Jahangir's





Detail of cat. no. 17b





Detail of cat. no. 18c





Detail of cat. no. 18b verso



Detail of cat. no. 31

helmet (see detail of cat. no. 18b) and Shah Abbas's turban (see detail of cat. no. 17b), however, we find that the quickness and aliveness of drawing in the latter work is absent in the *Kevorkian Album* page, where precision has replaced vivacity. The face of the emperor is harder, without the extraordinary immediacy found in either of the Freer portraits accepted here as by Abu'l Hasan (cat. nos. 17b and 31). These characteristics are typical of one major strand of Shah Jahan period painting, and the work seems a superb example of Mughal portraiture of about 1650. It does not relate to what we know of Abu'l Hasan, however, except iconographically, but it may well be a copy of an earlier allegorical portrait. The *Late Shah Jahan Album*, made about 1650, contains a series of illustrations (again almost completely portraits) in exactly this style, some of which are copies of known early works.<sup>3</sup>

Among the *Kevorkian Album* pages that seem to be of an earlier seventeenth-century date is a portrait of Abd ar-Rahim, Khan Khanan (1566–1627), signed by Hashim (cat. no. 18a). This is a precise and vivid study of one of Jahangir's leading courtiers. The work is surrounded by particularly beautiful marginal designs, and this points to another difference noticeable in various *Kevorkian Album* pages. The late pages are generally surrounded by margins weak in design and feebly executed (see cat. no. 18c–e), while the seventeenth-century works are often framed by strong and brilliant borders. In one case (cat. no. 18d) the borders are neither Islamic nor Indian in design but seem derived from chinoiserie motifs.

Several *Kevorkian Album* illustrations (e.g., cat. no. 18c) are based on known earlier prototypes in the *Minto Album*,<sup>4</sup> a completely Shah Jahan period assemblage. Other related albums containing both early



and late works are known. The *Wantage Album* (see References below) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, may well have originally been joined to the *Kevorkian Album*, and another volume is in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur. The activity of copying was itself accepted and, indeed, necessary within the Mughal context. As we noted earlier (see p. 68), Akbar ordered his nobles to make copies of the illustrated *Razm-nama* manuscript, which he commissioned in 1582, while Sir Thomas Roe recorded in his diaries that Jahangir ordered six of his artists to make copies of a painting owned by Roe.<sup>5</sup> And it is certain that the various presentation portraits that Jahangir (in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*) noted giving out were probably mass-produced copies rather than unique works.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that whole albums of copies were later formed as presentation items, a custom continued with the photograph albums formed in the nineteenth century.

REFERENCES: S. C. Clarke, *Indian Drawings: Thirty Mogul Paintings of the School of Jahangir and Four Panels of Calligraphy in the Wantage Bequest, Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolios* (London, 1922); Maurice Dimand, "An Exhibition of Islamic and Indian Paintings," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 14 (1955): 85–102; *Beach GM*, p. 76.



Cat. no. 18a recto

# 18a PORTRAIT OF ABD AR-RAHIM, KHAN KHANAN

From the *Kevorkian Album*

By Hashim

Circa 1626

14.9 × 8.2 cm. (5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.); 38 × 26 cm. (14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

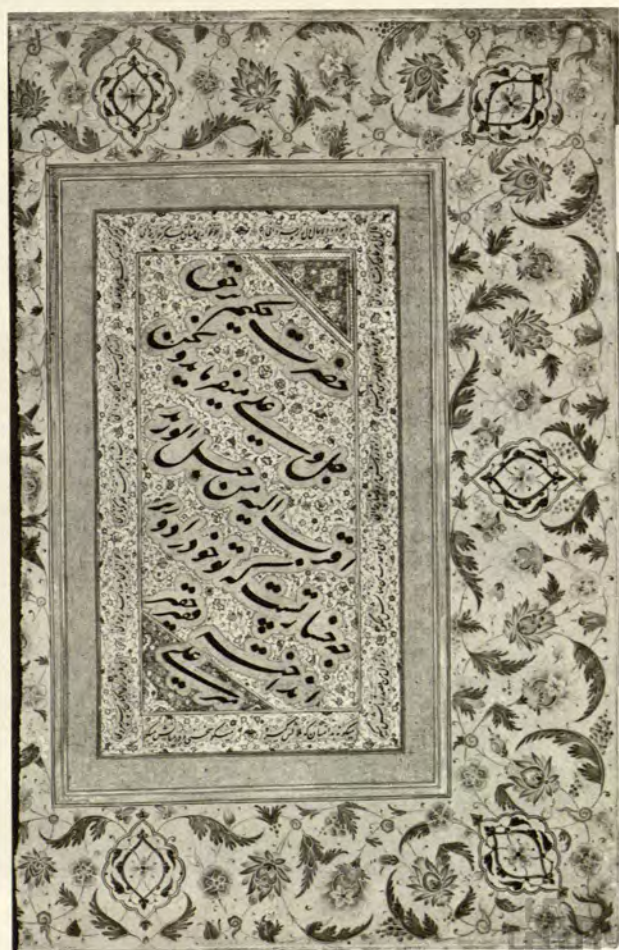
Ex-collection: Kevorkian

39.50

*Detail, p. 74; colorplate, p. 84*

In 1584 Abd ar-Rahim was given the title Khan Khanan, which identified him as commander-in-chief of the Mughal armies. He was a poet and littérateur and, as patron of the Freer *Ramayana* (cat. no. 15), is discussed on page 134. A recent analysis of the painter Hashim, among the most brilliant artists to work for Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and a list of his known works are given in *Beach GM*, pp. 127–30.

On the reverse is a calligraphic inscription by Mir Ali, the great Iranian calligrapher of the early sixteenth century.



Cat. no. 18a verso





Cat. no. 18b verso





Cat. no. 18b recto

## 18b JAHANGIR HOLDING A GLOBE

From the *Kevorkian Album*

Inscribed to Abu'l Hasan

Circa 1650

27.6 × 16.1 cm. (10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); 38.8 × 25.7 cm. (15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

48.28

*Detail, p. 182*

The emperor is holding a globe of the world, which in turn supports a sphere giving his pedigree, while behind him are Mughal troops in battle. The inscription at the right records the date as Nauroz, New Year's Day (March 10), 1623. Jahangir opened his account of this year in the *Jahangir-nama* by describing the defeat of the rebellious Shah Jahan's troops, the activity we see here, and he referred to the prince as *bi-daulat* (wretch). For a discussion of the style of the work as related to Abu'l Hasan, see pages 179–82. A later version of the painting is in a private collec-

tion,<sup>7</sup> while a *charba* (pattern) for the portrait, with inscriptions, is in the Freer Gallery. By means of such tracings, compositions were preserved and handed down within painters' families.

On the reverse is a panel of calligraphy, attributed again to Mir Ali.

## 18c JAHANGIR SHOOTING THE HEAD OF MALIK AMBAR

From the *Kevorkian Album*

Inscribed to Abu'l Hasan

Early 19th century

23.3 × 15 cm. (9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); 38 × 26 cm.

(14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

48.19

*Illustration, p. 186; detail, p. 181*

The inscriptions on this work and on its prototype, a superb painting by Abu'l Hasan in the *Minto Album*,<sup>8</sup> reveal its source in Jahangir's hatred for the Abyssinian general Malik Ambar. It is stated specifically on the painting:

Thy arrow which lays the enemy low, sent out of the world 'Ambar, the owl who fled from the light.<sup>9</sup>

The light, of course, is Jahangir, and we see owls placed near the severed head. The imagery continues in a seemingly related passage in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*:

Another piece of news was the defeat of the ill-starred 'Ambar and the destruction of his unfortunate army . . . such a hand-to-hand struggle took place that the onlookers remained bewildered. . . . Heaps of the dead lay there, and the ill-starred 'Ambar, unable to offer further opposition, turned his face to flight. . . . The next day the victorious troops, marching from the place of victory, proceeded to Karki, which was the nest of those owlish ones, and seeing no trace of them, they encamped there, and obtained news that they during the night and day had fallen miserably in different places.<sup>10</sup>

The passage is dated March 1616, so that again we can relate an allegorical scene with the years of Sir Thomas Roe's presence at the court.

The chain with bells is the "Chain of Justice" (from which symbolic scales are here suspended):

After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention.<sup>11</sup>

In Islamic symbolism the fish and bull are known as world-bearers, and here the globe presents a sort of





Cat. no. 18c recto



Cat. no. 18c verso

Fig. 31. *Black Vulture and Griffon Vulture.* From the *Kevorkian Album*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, 1955, Funds given by The Kevorkian Foundation supplementing the Rogers Fund.



peaceable kingdom, with a lion and goat resting together. Below the scales is written:

Through the justice of Shah Nur al-Din Jahangir  
The lion has sipped milk from the teat of the goat.<sup>12</sup>

To the right, the stand supports a circular pedigree of Jahangir's lineage.

A late copy of this composition is in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd.<sup>13</sup>

On the reverse is a study, *A Vulture*, which, while of early-nineteenth-century date, bears an inscription to Mansur. Several versions of this work are known, the earliest being a *Kevorkian Album* page in New York (fig. 31).

## 18d SHAH JAHAN STANDING ON A GLOBE

From the *Kevorkian Album*

Inscribed to Hashim

Mid-17th century with later additions

25.1 × 15.8 cm. (9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.); 38 × 26 cm.

(14<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

39.49







Cat. no. 18d recto





Cat. no. 18d verso

The holy men, drawn lightly on the globe, are holding scrolls on which are written the prayer:

O God, thou hast made king and dervish equal, for they are both beings of thy creating.  
Make everlasting to all people the means to understand obedience,  
and keep alive in our hearts worship and sacrifice of Thee.

The first of these phrases, which is on the right, continues the symbolism established in *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings* (cat. no. 17a), while the overall composition can be traced to *Jahangir Embracing Shah Abbas* (cat. no. 17b). On the umbrella held aloft by the angel, Shah Jahan's genealogy is traced back to Timur.

At the bottom, the inscription reads: "Work of Hashim. The second of Jumada II, day Monday year 1038 (January 27, 1629) the portrait was executed." Hashim, whose superb portrait of the Khan Khanan is included here (cat. no. 18a), may well have executed a model for this composition. Here, however, the angels and the effect of the emperor's trousers under the transparent skirt are far below the level of competence associated with the painter's reliable works. A later, nineteenth-century copy of this exact composition, including some identical inscriptions, is in the Chester Beatty Library.<sup>14</sup>

On the reverse is a panel of calligraphy inscribed to Mir Ali.

## 18e TWO DEER IN A LANDSCAPE

From the *Kevorkian Album*

Inscribed to Mansur

Early 19th century

16.7 × 9.3 cm. (6<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); 38 × 26 cm.  
(14<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

39.48

*Detail, p. 179*

This late version of a painting by Mansur has been compared to a reliably inscribed work from a *Baburnama* manuscript (see p. 178).

The verso illustration, while not signed or attributed is inscribed: "The portrait of Nadir-ad-din His Highness Humayun, the victorious emperor. 1019 (A.D. 1610–11)" and may be based on a dated original work.



Additional pages from the *Kevorkian Album* in the  
Freer Gallery of Art:



Cat. no. 18e recto



**Figure 33** *A Bird*  
Inscribed to Mansur  
Early 19th century  
11.4 × 20.5 cm. (4½ × 8⅛ in.)  
39.46b



Cat. no. 18e verso



**Figure 32** *Equestrian Portrait of Shah Jahan*  
Inscribed to Govardhan  
Early 19th century  
26.8 × 18.1 cm. (10⅞ × 7⅞ in.); 38.5 ×  
26.2 cm. (15⅛ × 10¼ in.)  
39.46a





**Figure 34** *Shah Tahmasp in the Mountains*  
Inscribed to Farrukh Beg  
Early 19th century  
21.9 × 13.8 cm. (8 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 5 $\frac{7}{16}$  in.); 38.4 × 26.2  
cm. (15 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.)  
39.47a



**Figure 35** *A Bird*  
Inscribed to Muhammad  
Early 19th century  
14.2 × 10 cm. (5 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 3 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.)  
39.47b



**Figure 37** *Portrait of I'timad-ad-daula*  
Inscribed to Balchand  
Early 19th century  
14.7 × 7.9 cm. (5 $\frac{13}{16}$  × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.)  
48.20b



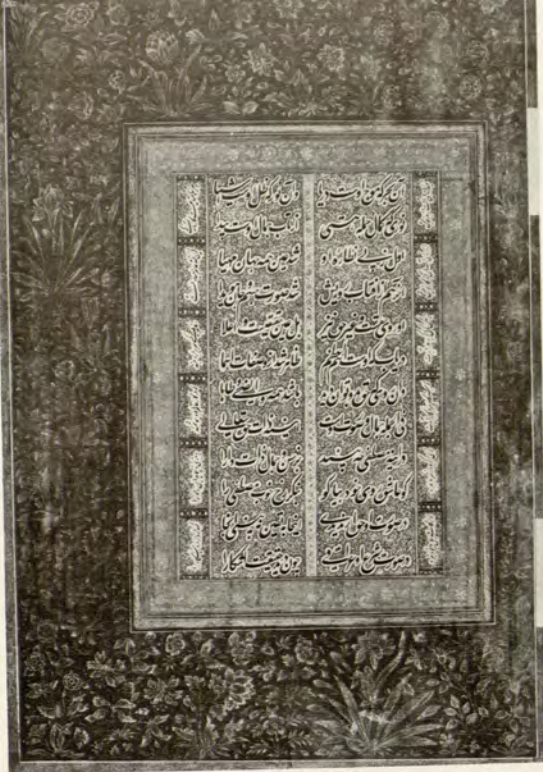


Figure 36 *Calligraphy*  
Probably Iranian, early 16th century  
38.1 × 25.9 cm. (15 × 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); 38.1 × 25.9  
cm. (15 × 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)  
48.20a



Figure 38 *An Archer, a Musician, and a Dervish*  
Inscribed to Bichitr  
Early 19th century  
20.7 × 12.4 cm. (8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); 38.4 × 26.3  
cm. (15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)  
48.21a



Figure 39 *A Bee-Eater*  
Inscribed to Farrukh Beg  
Early 19th century  
16.9 × 10.9 cm. (6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)  
48.21b

A source for the recto illustration, in the *Minto Album*, is also signed by Bichitr but is not wholly typical of his style. For a discussion of the painter and a list of known works, see *Beach GM*, pp. 101–7.

#### NOTES

1. B. Hollander, *The International Law of Art* (London, 1959), pp. 112–13 and 170–71.
2. E.g., *Binney Collection*, no. 91.
3. *Beach GM*, pp. 76–77.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
5. Roe, *Embassy*, pp. 224–25.
6. E.g., *Tuzuk*, 2: 36.
7. *Christie*, July 11, 1974, lot 81.
8. *Beatty Library*, 3: pl. 62.
9. *Ibid.*, 1: 31–32.
10. *Tuzuk*, 1: 312–14.
11. *Ibid.*, 1: 7.
12. *Beatty Library*, 1: 31–32.
13. *Binney Collection*, no. 92.
14. *Beatty Library*, 3: pl. 86.



## SINGLE PAINTINGS

### Portraits and Miscellaneous

#### 19 THE WORLD OF ANIMALS

Inscribed to Miskin

Circa 1590

23.3 × 11.9 cm. (9 $\frac{3}{16}$  × 4 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.); 33.8 × 21.7 cm. (13 $\frac{3}{16}$  × 8 $\frac{9}{16}$  in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramanek

PUBLISHED: *Atul Brush*, no. 70.

45.29

*Detail, p. 125*

While highly finished, this may well be a preliminary drawing and study for a painting now lost. A closely related scene, *The Raven Addresses the Assembled Animals*, for example, is known both through drawings and completed paintings. Neither the exact subject nor any manuscript text for which it might have been prepared has been identified. A series of comparative works that share similar technique, subject, or such compositional devices as the assembled animals, includes:

#### *The Raven Addresses the Assembled Animals*

Fully colored versions are in the British Museum, London (PUBLISHED: *Welch IMP*, pl. 11, where it is attributed to Miskin) and the India Office Library (J. 67/4). Drawings are in the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, San Francisco, and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Each of these shows somewhat different animal arrangements.

#### *The King of the Forest*

Slightly larger than the Freer illustration, this is in a style originally that of Miskin. An inscription—of uncertain reliability—names the painter as Anupchar, an artist of the Shah Jahan period, when copies of earlier works were produced in abundance.

PUBLISHED: *Christie*, October 16, 1980, lot 59.

#### *Laila and Majnun*

A late-sixteenth-century drawing is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (PUBLISHED: *Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Periods*, Bodleian Picture Book, no. 9 [Oxford, 1953], fig. 14.) Several related later drawings are also known. (See *Binney Collection*, no. 48, or *Sotheby*, April 3, 1978, lot 84.)



Cat. no. 19



Fig. 40. *The World of Animals*. Probably by Miskin, early 17th century. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts; Gift of Arthur Sachs (1951.17).



### King Solomon

A late-sixteenth-century drawing is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Douce Or, a.l., fol. 51v).

A second version of this drawing also exists (fig. 40) and helps to identify certain qualities associated with Miskin's best illustrations. The rhythms in the version in San Francisco are far less exciting; they seem carefully thought out and lack the whiplash spontaneity of the Freer scene. The effect is of something repeated and therefore lacking the verve and freshness of original creation. It is nonetheless an excellent and seeming early (although well-worn) drawing, and in fact the quiet, more restrained quality is found in other works by Miskin and does not necessarily preclude his authorship. With such a complicated composition, it may well be that Miskin made several preliminary drawings. He is also known to have made drawings in the technique known as *nim qalam* (lightly colored) for final illustrations as we know from two superb hunting scenes.<sup>1</sup> The artist, whose signature (now erased) was on a rock below the elephant's head, is further considered in the discussion for *Noah's Ark* (cat. no. 13).

Cat. no. 20



## 20 A LION HUNT

Circa 1600

18.6 × 10.6 cm. (7 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 4 $\frac{3}{16}$  in.)

Ex-collection: Mrs. W. H. Shapley  
46.17

The original context of this lively hunting scene is unknown, but it would almost certainly have been intended for a manuscript. A stylistically similar, slightly smaller illustration, *Akbar Visiting a Hermit*, is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where it has been mounted as an album page. The album contains both early paintings (circa 1600) and later copies, and the possibility exists that this is an archaistic work.

## 21 A ROYAL ENTERTAINMENT

Attributed here to Sur Das

Circa 1600

17 × 11.4 cm. (6 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.); 45.6 × 31.5 cm.  
(17 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian  
60.27

*Colorplate, p. 88*

A young prince is surrounded by his courtiers: a swordbearer, a poet (with a book), and musicians. He

Cat. no. 21





is not identifiable, unfortunately, although an inscription written in *devanagari* letters on the reverse states that it is Jahangir. This is unlikely, for the figure is strongly defined and quite unlike the emperor.

## SUR DAS

Sur Das (Gujarati) was the most prolific of the artists whose names were inscribed on the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama* illustrations. None of his earlier assignments prepare us for this dominance, however. His first identified work is in the *Timur-nama* of circa 1584, for which his father, Isar, who is otherwise unknown, completed a design by Tulsi Kalan. The earliest pages by Sur Das are in an immature, unformed style with no strong sense of artistic personality, but by folio 254a—at the end of the volume—his style was self-assured. He assisted on one page of the first *Akbar-nama* and three folios of the 1596 *Jami al-Tawarikh*, and these are minor assignments. A real recognition of his talents came with the *Harivamsa* project (cat. no. 6) and the British Library *Khamsa* of Nizami, where he was given two full illustrations. He clearly was an artist who developed slowly and late. In fact, of the thirteen paintings that he made for the second *Akbar-nama*, nine are in the later section of the work. After 1600 he was given major work on the greatest imperial manuscripts.

Sur Das was a conservative painter. His style is simple and direct, with strong colors and clear shapes, and he had no particular interest in European techniques. (The highly self-conscious modeling of Dharm Das—see cat. no. 12b—the second important painter of the circa 1604 *Akbar-nama*, for example, is unknown in Sur Das's work.) His characterizations are not necessarily subtle or particularly penetrating, but they can be intense, as with the two central figures here. The style of this painting is contemporary with the later *Akbar-nama* pages.

Folio 11 of the *Timur-nama* lists Sur Das as the son of Isar, while inscriptions on the 1598 *Razm-nama* state that he was the father of the painter Singha, known through that manuscript.

Manuscripts with inscriptions to Sur Das (Gujarati):

### *Timur-nama*

Circa 1584

Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore

Several forms of a related name appear in this manuscript, but it does not yet seem possible to determine their interrelationship: Sur Das appears on folio 11v, Suraj Gujarati on folio 121r, Sur on folio 126v, and Surjiv on folio 254r.

### *Akbar-nama*

Circa 1590 or earlier

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

### *Babur-nama*

Circa 1591

British Library, London

PUBLISHED: *Suleiman*, pls. 45 and 66–67.

### *Babaristan* of Jami

Dated 1595

Bodleian Library, Oxford

### *Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

### *Khamsa* of Nizami

Dated 1596

British Library, London

### *Babur-nama*

Dated 1597–98

National Museum of India, New Delhi

### *Gulistan* of Sa'di

Circa 1600

Dispersed page in the Cincinnati Art Museum

### *Akbar-nama*

Dated 1604

British Library, London, and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 3: pls. 17, 26, 29–30.

Manuscripts with folios attributed here to Sur Das (Gujarati):

### *Harivamsa*

Dispersed

See page 72

### *Babur-nama*

Circa 1593

State Museum for Oriental Cultures, Moscow, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore [W. 668, fol. 33]

PUBLISHED: S. Tyulayev, *Miniatures of Babur-nama* (Moscow, 1960), pl. 31.

### *Gulistan* of Sa'di

Circa 1600

British Library, London, Or. 5302

Folio 50r can be attributed to Sur Das. The dispersed page in Cincinnati (listed above) is from a group of illustrations, which may have been removed from the London volume.

### *Bustan* of Sa'di

Circa 1605

Private collection

Folio 136v is attributed here to Sur Das.

REFERENCE: I. Stchoukine, "Un Bustan de Sa'di illustré par des Artistes Moghols," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1937): 68–74.



Attributed here to Manohar

Circa 1597

17.2 × 9.8 cm. (6¾ × 3⅞ in.)

Ex-collection: F. R. Martin, Minassian

PUBLISHED: F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Paintings of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London, 1912), pl. 201.

29.80

*Illustration, p. 196*

This is an unusually intimate portrait of a Mughal prince. It is one of a series of especially interesting studies, for the works give a personal, unofficial view of the private life of a member of the imperial family. A drawing (fig. 41) of the same couple at a slightly younger age is in the National Museum of India, New Delhi, while three other drawings are known showing the prince with various attendants. One of the latter works, formerly in the collection of A. C. Ardeshir, is inscribed with information that the subject is Sultan Murad (1570–99), Akbar's second son, and two of the drawings show him with his brother Sultan Daniyal (1572–1604). According to the ages of the princes—whose inscribed identities there seems no present reason to dispute—the works were made over a period of about a decade.

While known as an able military commander, Murad was even more notable for his rudeness. Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's intimate associate, referred to him as the "jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate,"<sup>2</sup> but his contemporary Badaoni is reported to have complained that Murad thought of himself as "a ripe grape, when he was not yet even an unripe grape."<sup>3</sup> In his youth, his guardian had been Sharif Khan, the son of Abd as-Samad, the artist, himself a painter and administrator who eventually supported Jahangir's rebellion against Akbar. His tutor was Abu'l Fazl's brother, the great poet Faizi, and at the age of ten, Murad was given over to the Jesuit Father Monserrate for instruction in Christianity and the Portuguese language. There was every reason, therefore, for the prince to be interested in intellectual matters and the arts—and in his portraits he is surrounded by musicians, poets, and holy men. He is also often shown drinking wine, and before his thirtieth birthday he had died of alcoholism.

In 1581 Murad was sent against Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half-brother, in Kabul. In 1589 he was again in Kabul with the imperial party, including Daniyal; and it may well be at this time that the earlier of the double-page portraits was made, for Daniyal seems no older than seventeen. Murad became governor of Malwa in 1591 and governor of Gujarat two years later. He was sent against the Deccani kingdom of Ahmadnagar (and thus against Malik Ambar; see cat. no. 18c) in 1594 in company with Abd ar-Rahim, Khan Khanan, but the two men quarreled and the

campaign was a disaster. Murad was recalled to the court in 1598.

The prince married the daughter of Aziz Koka, Mirza Khan Azam,<sup>4</sup> in 1587—and she may be the woman shown here in what seems clearly to be a true portrait rather than a generalized type. (Women were kept in seclusion, out of sight of any men but their closest relations, and the seeming portraiture that one finds in several Mughal works is not easily explained.) A son, Rustam, was born a year later, and a second son, Alam Sultan, in 1590. Rustam died in 1598, the year Murad was ordered back to court, and these events precipitated a particularly severe bout of drinking, from which Murad never recovered. He died of delirium tremens in 1599.

The entire series of works (listed below) is by Manohar, whose name is inscribed on two of the drawings. While he worked on several of the major Akbari imperial manuscripts, the painter seems to have had a specific relationship with Murad as a patron. Portraits of Sultan Daniyal and the young Prince Khurram (the future Shah Jahan) by Manohar, datable to about 1600, are also known.<sup>5</sup> For a further discussion of the painter, see page 112

Additional portraits of Sultan Murad signed by or attributed to Manohar:

*Sultan Murad and Sultan Daniyal Picnicking in a Landscape*

Attributed here to Manohar

City Palace Museum, Jaipur

*Sultan Murad with a Dervish*

From the *Nasir-ud-din Album*

Inscribed to Manohar

Former Imperial Library, Tehran

PUBLISHED: Y. Godard, "Un Album de Portraits des Princes Timurides de l'Inde," *Athar-e-Iran* 2 (1937): fig. 93.

*Sultan Murad and Sultan Daniyal in a Garden Pavilion*

Inscribed to Manohar

Present location unknown

PUBLISHED: *Sotheby*, July 10, 1973, lot 31; *Christie*, October 16, 1980, lot 60.

*Sultan Murad with a Consort*

Attributed here to Manohar

National Museum of India, New Delhi

*Figure 41*

## 23 A MAN IN A CARRIAGE

Circa 1603

9.5 × 17.3 cm. (3¾ × 6⅓⅓ in.); 16 × 25 cm. (6⅓⅓ × 9⅓⅓ in.)

Ex-collection: Hanna

07.606

*Illustration, p. 197*

Between 1599 and 1604, Prince Salim held court at





Fig. 41. *Sultan Murad with a Consort*. Attributed here to Manohar, circa 1590. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



Cat. no. 22





Cat. no. 23

Allahabad, in open rebellion against his father, Akbar. Several manuscripts are known that can be related to these years, and Jahangir's extraordinary albums were initiated by 1599, the inscribed date on marginal designs by Aqa Riza. This work may also have been executed at Allahabad; the light, sketchy treatment of plants is typical, for example, and the unfinished portrait of the man in the wagon would seem to be the future Emperor Jahangir.<sup>6</sup>

Cat. no. 24



## 24 A RUNNING SWORDSMAN

Circa 1600

14.6 × 9.4 cm. (5¾ × 3⅞ in.); 30.4 × 22.1 cm.  
(13⅝ × 8¾ in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: R. Ettinghausen, "Bijapur," *Marg*  
16, no. 2, pp. 32–33 and fig. 1.  
65.21

The subject may well be a Deccani warrior, for the turban has close parallels in late-sixteenth-century Deccani portraits. Richard Ettinghausen attributed the work to an early-seventeenth-century Bijapur artist, but it seems instead to be Mughal—its energy and naturalism are too straightforward for the aestheticism of contemporary Bijapur.





Cat. no. 25

## 25 A SEATED MAN

Attributed here to Basawan

Circa 1580–85

8.5 × 8 cm. (3⅜ × 3⅛ in.)

Ex-collection: Sarre

PUBLISHED: F. Sarre and E. Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi* (Munich, 1914), fig. XXX. 53.60

Few Mughal artists could depict the softness of cloth or the way it enfolds the human body with the convincing skill of Basawan, a painter whose presentation of eccentric physical types was always sympathetic.

This illustration was included in a group of drawings known as the *Riza-i-Abbasi Album*, for it contained major works by that Iranian artist. This illustration is Mughal, however, and can be immediately compared in style to works collected into an album in India by Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan).<sup>7</sup> Basawan is discussed further on pages 89–90.

## 26 BABUR WITH ATTENDANTS IN A GARDEN

Circa 1605

19.1 × 12.2 cm. (7½ × 4⅜ in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: *Atıl Brush*, no. 61.

54.27

It has been suggested that the scene shows Babur, whose love of gardens was well known. It does bear

a general resemblance to Akbar-period depictions of the emperor, but all of these are presumed to be imaginary as no contemporary portraits are known. This extremely perceptive and vital drawing is closely related to an identical composition in the *Muraqqa Gulshan*, Jahangir's great album.<sup>8</sup> In that scene, which is fully painted, the pavilion is central, and at the bottom of the page gardeners are shown planting shrubs. The figure with the scroll thus seems to be reading an inventory of plants, whereas here he holds a poetic verse. Below the seated figures has been affixed a drawing of flowers.

The importance of patterning and sense of miniaturism (in the faces and vegetation, for example) link this work with traditional Iranian taste—the work is very close to illustrations associated with Aqa Riza and his circle. Its characterizations are far more deft, however, and the figures more organic than in any known works by Aqa Riza. A list of these and a discussion of the painter are found in *Beach GM*, pp. 92–95.

## 27 SEATED YOUTH

Possibly by Abu'l Hasan

Circa 1600

12.4 × 7.3 cm. (4⅞ × 2⅞ in.)

Ex-collection: Hanna

PUBLISHED: *Atıl Brush*, no. 68. 07.161

*Detail, p. 200*

Portraits of rather epicene youths reading or holding flowers are a frequent subject in Iranian art, and they tend to appear in Mughal India only under strong Iranian influence. This drawing has a late and rather crude inscription stating that it is “the work of Nadir-al-zaman.” There are several reasons to trust this notation. A second version of the work (fig. 42) is in the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin, and it bears an inscription to Aqa Riza, Abu'l Hasan's Iranian father. It is a late, hard copy, but it seems to resurrect faithfully a work convincingly in Aqa Riza's style. The Freer drawing differs from the style of the Berlin portrait in exactly those ways by which Abu'l Hasan differs from Aqa Riza: the cloth is softer, for example, and gives us a sense of the material's texture, whereas in the Aqa Riza copy, the lines are expressive quite apart from what they describe. The Abu'l Hasan drawing is an immature work, but his earliest known illustrations are of a similar character and closely modeled on Iranian or European prototypes.<sup>9</sup> For later works by the artist see catalogue numbers 17b and 31.





Cat. no. 26



Detail of cat. no. 26





Detail of cat. no. 27



Fig. 42. *Seated Youth*. Style of Aqa Riza. Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.

## 28 A YOUTH READING

From an album of Shah Jahan

By Muhammad Ali

Circa 1610

17.2 × 9.7 cm. (6<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); 33.3 × 21 cm.

(13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramanek

PUBLISHED: *Ettinghausen*, pl. 9.

53.93

*Colorplate, p. 93*

While based on the same formula as catalogue number 27, this work is highly controlled and visually

sophisticated—every detail of form and color is carefully defined and placed—whereas the other (which is far more innovative) is not yet mature. And whereas Abu'l Hasan, unlike Aqa Riza, makes us forget line and pattern to become wholly involved in the physical nature of the subject, Muhammad Ali delights us by the liveliness of the pattern of the hem or superb arrangement of the vegetation. None of this can be termed naturalistic, of course, although Muhammad Ali's figures do have greater weight and physical presence than contemporary Iranian works or portraits by Aqa Riza. Richard Ettinghausen, who first published this work, attributed it to Bijapur, circa 1610,





Cat. no. 28



Cat. no. 29

but a recently discovered inscription terms the painter Jahangirshahi, indicating that he was in Jahangir's employ, and his name appears on the 1596 *Jami al-Tawarikh*. Muhammad Ali, Farrukh Beg, and Mirza Ghulam are closely interrelated artists, and in several cases it seems impossible to determine authorship among them on purely visual criteria. The portrait is placed within superb floral borders typical of the albums of Shah Jahan.

For a further discussion of Muhammad Ali and related artists, and of the Shah Jahan albums, see *Beach GM*.

## 29 A PILGRIM AND AN ASCETIC

Circa 1600

10.3 × 9 cm. (4 × 3 3/4 in.); 24.9 × 15.5 cm.

(9 13/16 × 6 1/8 in.)

Ex-collection: Minassian

PUBLISHED: *Atul Brush*, no. 66; Ira Moscovitz, ed., *Great Drawings of All Time* (New York, 1962), no. 874.

29.76

The careful characterizations in this superb, minutely detailed study suggests that these are specific portraits, although the figures are no longer identifiable.





Cat. no. 30



## 30 SULTAN PARVIZ WITH AN ASCETIC

Circa 1610

15 × 8.6 cm. (5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); 29.8 × 18.5 cm. (11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Minassian

PUBLISHED: *Atul Brush*, no. 67.  
29.3

Parviz was Jahangir's second son. Khusrau, his elder brother, was considered a possible successor to Akbar during the years of Salim's (or Jahangir's) revolt and never again gained his father's confidence. After Jahangir's accession, Khusrau himself rebelled and was captured. His followers were impaled alive on an allée of stakes through which the prince was forced to ride, and Khusrau had red-hot needles drawn across his eyes. Parviz then became his father's favorite, and in the *Darbar of Jahangir* (cat. no. 31) he is more prominently the subject of Jahangir's attention than his brother, Khurram, the future Shah Jahan. Soon after 1615, however, when Khurram returned to court after defeating the Rana of Mewar, Parviz declined drastically in prestige.

He nonetheless ran a lavish and formal court at Burhanpur, which Sir Thomas Roe visited in 1615, describing his audience with Parviz in his memoirs:

The place was Covered overhead with a Rich Cannapie, and vnderneath all Carpetts. To discribe it rightly it was like a great stage, and the Prince satt aboue as the Mock kings doth thear. When I was entered I knewe not where to be placed, but went right and stood before him, wher there is an assent of three steepes, vpon which standes his secretary to deliuer what is sayd or giuen. Briefly I tould him being an Ambassador from the King of England to his father and passing bye, I could not but in honor visitt him. Hee replied I was veary wellcome, and Asked me many questions of the King, to which I replied as I thought fitt. But standing in that manner belowe, I demanded lycence to Come vp and stand by him. He answered: if the King of Persia, or the great Turke were ther, it might not be admitted. . . . Then I demanded a Chaier, but I was answered noe man euer satt in that place; but I was desiered as a Curtesye to ease myselfe against a Pillor covered aboue with siluer, that held vp his Cannapie.<sup>10</sup>

Despite his seeming grandeur, Parviz was so out of favor with the emperor that he was refused an audience when he passed near the court in 1616. He married the daughter of his uncle Sultan Murad in 1607; a son, Durandish, was born in 1615, followed by a second son in 1618. Parviz himself died in 1626.

The significance of the present scene is unknown, for Parviz seems not to have had the intellectual energy and interest of Jahangir or the devotion to spiritual matters. The holy man, with long matted hair, is presumably a Hindu.

For decorative embellishment, the work was placed

within the margins of an Iranian manuscript, a book of verse by Hafiz, written early in the sixteenth century by Sultan Ali of Meshhed.<sup>11</sup> A comparison of the marginal illustrations here and on a Jahangir album page (cat. no. 16d) shows the greater concern for isolation and individualization of the figures on the Mughal folio.

## 31 DARBAR OF JAHANGIR

By Abu'l Hasan

Circa 1615

16.9 × 12.3 cm. (6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Heeramanek

PUBLISHED: *Ettinghausen*, pl. 11; *Ettinghausen*, "Emperor's Choice," fig. 3; I. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols, III," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 7 (1931): 233–43; Beach, "The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for His Style," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38: 7–11 and fig. 2.

46.28

*Detail, p. 182; colorplate, p. 96*

The emperor here sits in European fashion, unlike in the *Jahangir-nama* audience scene (cat. no. 17d), and his feet rest on a globe, a clear statement of his world dominance. The globe, furthermore, has a key-hole, to be unlocked by a key suspended from the imperial *kamarband* (sash). Jahangir faces Sultan Parviz, his second son, while Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan), in a striped robe, stands to the right. Proceeding clockwise from Khurram, the major courtiers are arranged in a circle and can be identified as follows: Mahabat Khan, who had Sultan Khusrau blinded at Jahangir's request; Asaf Khan, who became Khan Khanan, and whose daughter married Shah Jahan and was the inspiration by her death for the Taj Mahal; the Prime Minister Itimad-ad-daula, Asaf Khan's father and Jahangir's father-in-law, whose daughter was Nur Mahal, the emperor's favorite and most powerful wife; Mirza Rustam Khan, the nephew of Shah Tahmasp of Iran, whose daughters married Sultan Parviz and Shah Jahan's second son, Shah Shuja; and Ibrahim Khan, another son of Itimad-ad-daula.

At the upper left, the dark-skinned man is the Hindu Prince Karan Singh of Mewar, who arrived at court early in 1615, following his kingdom's defeat by Khurram. In his memoirs, Jahangir wrote that at the audience celebrating his triumphal return, Khurram

petitioned that Karan might be exalted with the good fortune of prostrating himself and paying his respects. I ordered them to bring him and the Bakhshis with the usual ceremonies of respect produced him. After prostration and salutation were completed, at the request of my son Khurram, I ordered them to place him in front on the right hand of the circle.<sup>12</sup>

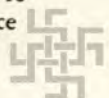






Fig. 43. *Darbar of Jahangir* (left half). By Abu'l Hasan, circa 1615–16. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W.668, fol. 37).



Cat. no. 31

And this is precisely where he is placed here.

To the upper right, the figure derived from a European work is inscribed: "The Emperor of Rum." Jahangir, then, is not only the center of a circle of powerful Mughal nobles (who are almost all closely intermarried with the imperial family), he is also flanked by representatives of two "foreign" powers: Hinduism and Christianity. At the corners of the scene, are four Indian figures (clockwise from the upper left): Murtaza Khan, governor of the Punjab; Anirai Singh, chief jailer; Dayanat Khan, reviser of petitions; and a fourth unidentified man. These figures, therefore, are guardians, intermediaries between Jahangir and the outer world; and the painting is a virtual mandala or symbolic diagram of the emperor's central position in the universe.

The Freer page is the right half of a double-page composition, and the left section (fig. 43) is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Here we see the completion of the circle, which seems to have a second center; and an inscription tells us that the stooped and aged man is the great thirteenth-century Iranian

poet Sa'di, a perfect embodiment of the mystic, spiritual world with which Jahangir wished to equate himself. The left figure at the bottom here is Beyazid Yildirim (Beyazid the Thunderbolt), the Ottoman sultan defeated by Timur (always evoked as the source of the Mughal dynasty) in 1404; and he, too, is stylistically of European origin.

Both halves are by Abu'l Hasan and are inscribed in such a way that they seem to be actual signatures; in the Freer page, it is found on the globe. There is no date, but the scene can be dated accurately. Karan Singh arrived at court early in 1615 and would certainly not have been shown before that date. Very soon after this, Khurram was raised to equal rank with Parviz, while at the New Year celebrations in March 1616, he was raised above his older brother. The inscription on the globe also states that the painting was made at Ajmer, which Jahangir left in November 1616, after a three-year visit. The work, therefore, must be dated before March 1616 and almost certainly early in 1615. Parviz, however, is not known to have been at Ajmer, and his presence







here—at a time when he was the presumed heir to the throne—seems simply to reinforce Mughal dynastic power.

For recent discussions of Abu'l Hasan, whose portraits here are extraordinarily insightful, see *Beach GM*, pp. 86–91; and Beach, "Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan."

## 32 JAHANGIR AND PRINCE KHURRAM FEASTED BY NUR JAHAN

From an album of Shah Jahan

Circa 1617

25.2 × 14.2 cm. (9<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Hanna

PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, "New Pictorial Evidence," figs. 1–2.

07.258

*Illustration, p. 205; detail, p. 33*

Mughal paintings of historical episodes are usually very exacting in the inclusion of specific details. It has been proposed<sup>13</sup> that this scene shows a "feast of victory" referred to in the *Jahangir-nama* during the chronicle of 1617:

On Mubarak-shamba (Thursday), the 27th, Nur-Jahan Begam prepared a feast of victory for my son Shah Jahan, and conferred on him dresses of honor of great price, with a *nadiri* with embroidered flowers, adorned with rare pearls, a *sarpich* (turban ornament) decorated with rare gems, a turban with a fringe of pearls . . . and a special elephant with two females.<sup>14</sup>

None of the gifts or activities is shown, however, and the identification should be considered tentative.

At least three exact copies of this composition are known.<sup>15</sup>

On the reverse is a calligraphic panel ascribed to Mir Ali, and the folio is set within Shah Jahan period album margins.

### NOTES

1. L. Ashton, ed., *The Arts of India and Pakistan* (New York, 1950), pl. 134; and Welch AMI, no. 12.
2. *Akbar-nama*, 3: 791.
3. Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*. Reprint. (New Delhi, 1966), p. 194.
4. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, 1: 319–34.
5. *Beach GM*, p. 135.
6. The male figure should be compared to Prince Salim in *Sotbeby*, October 10, 1977, lot 28. For a discussion and list of Allahabad manuscripts, see *Beach GM*, pp. 33–40.
7. See especially Stuart C. Welch, *Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches* (New York, 1976), no. 7.
8. J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 66 (1935): pl. IIIc.
9. An article that discusses Abu'l Hasan's early work and its reference to Aqa Riza is cited here in "The *Leningrad Album*," note 7.
10. Roe, *Embassy*, p. 92.
11. F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammadanischer Kunst in Munchen 1910* (Munich, 1912), T. 31.
12. *Tuzuk*, 1: 277.
13. C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings: Thirty Mogul Paintings of the School of Jahangir and Four Panels of Calligraphy in the Wantage Bequest* (London, 1922), commentary for pl. 5.
14. *Tuzuk*, 1: 396–97.
15. One each is in the *Wantage Album* (see note 13 above) and a comparable album in Jaipur. A third page was sold at auction (*Sotbeby*, July 1, 1969, lot 82). All are from the nineteenth century.



# PAINTINGS FROM THE DECCAN

## 33 TWO BIRDS

Deccani, early 17th century

9.4 × 13.2 cm. (3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Minassian

PUBLISHED: R. Ettinghausen, "Portfolio," *Marg*

16, no. 2, p. 14.

29.78

Unlike the careful descriptions found in contemporary illustrations by the great Mughal animal painter Mansur, this work is roughly executed, gaining its power from its ruggedness, strong colors, and flat design. There is nothing here to prevent or weaken immediacy of effect. Time does not enhance our appreciation of technique nor is it necessary for the exploration of complicated and subtle spatial effects as in developed Mughal works.

The provenance of *Two Birds* is unknown, but Richard Ettinghausen has remarked on its relation to Deccani textile designs.



Cat. no. 33

## 34 THE ARRIVAL OF A PRINCE

By Jan Quli

Deccani, Bijapur, circa 1600

8.5 × 6.3 cm. (3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.); 24.5 × 16.2 cm.

(9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.)

Ex-collection: Kevorkian

PUBLISHED: S. C. Welch, "Bijapur," *Marg* 16, no.

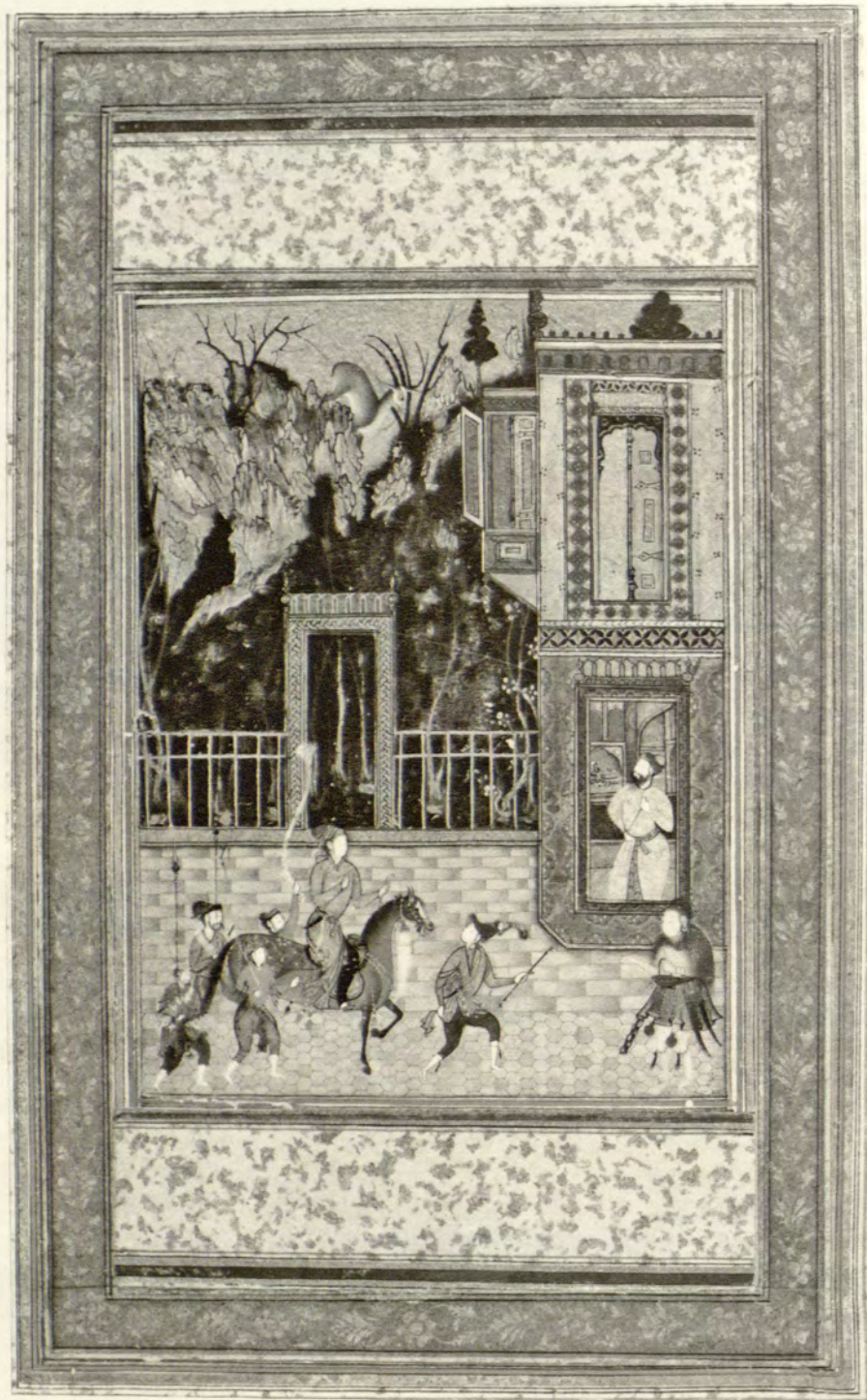
2, p. 30.

54.25

*Illustration, p. 208; detail, p. 209*

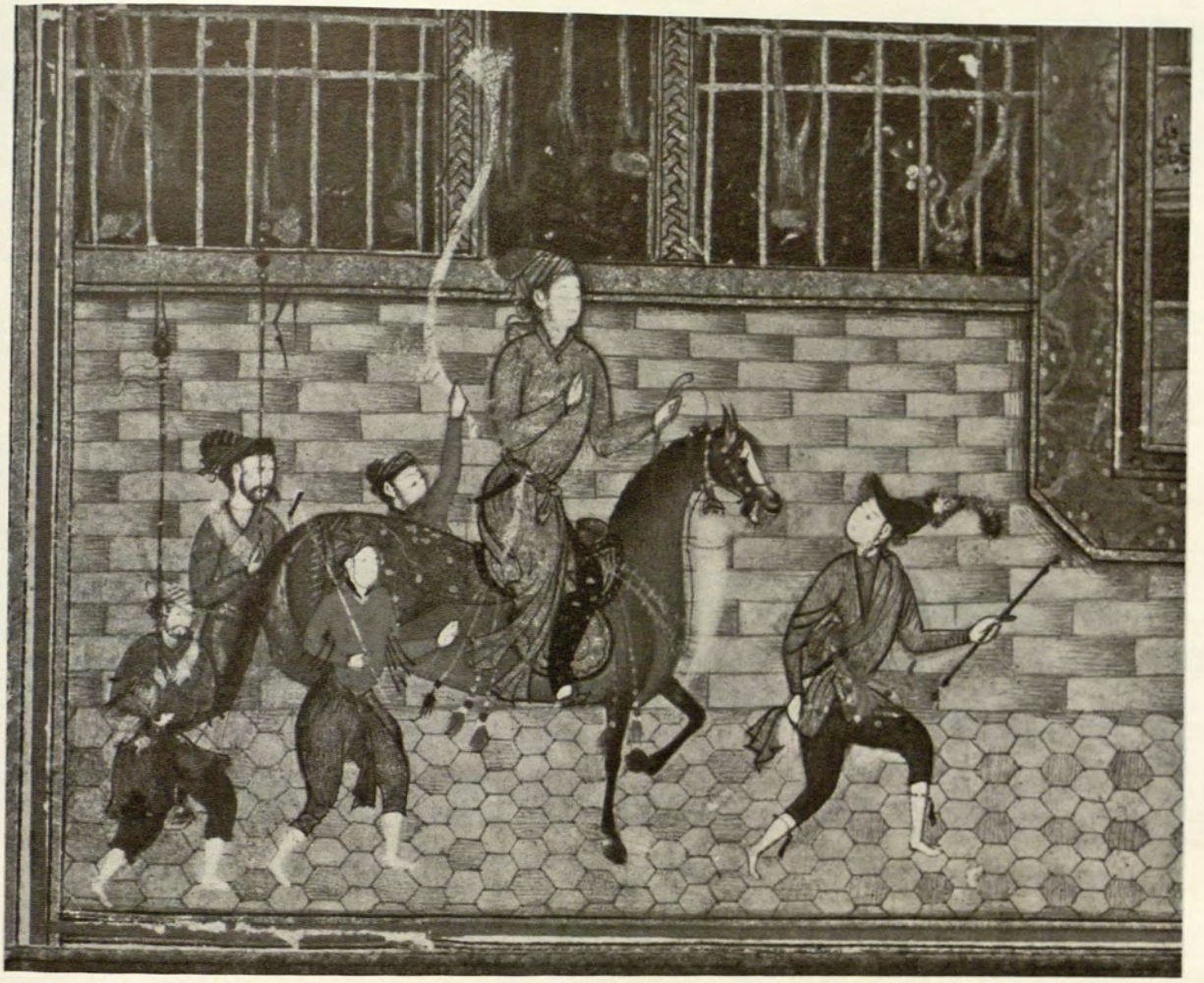
The illustration shares qualities with other Deccani works exhibited here: a love of careful surface pattern, together with a disinterest in spatial depth and portraits or even portraitlike characterizations. Here, too, the background landscape is flat and gives no sense of forms in a three-dimensional space. What we become aware of is the composition, the formal relationship of the various shapes in the group of figures at the lower left. In these ways, Deccani illustrations ally themselves with the most conservative, Iran-oriented aspects of Mughal style and with painters such as Muhammad Ali (cat. no. 28).





Cat. no. 34





Detail of cat. no. 34





Cat. no. 35





Fig. 44. *Madonna and Child*. Deccani, Bijapur, circa 1610. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



Detail of cat. no. 16c verso

### 35 MADONNA AND CHILD

Deccani, Bijapur, circa 1610

16 × 11.1 cm. (6 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.); 35.6 × 23 cm.  
(14 × 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.)

Ex-collection: Hanna

PUBLISHED: Ettinghausen, "Portfolio," p. 16.  
07.155

Both Deccani and Mughal artists copied European prints, but their interests were distinct, and the contrast allows us to differentiate these two contemporary Islamic traditions working within India. If we compare this work with the European copies found in the margins of Jahangir's albums (e.g., cat. no. 16c), for example, we see that the Mughal work typically uses cloth to enhance the weight and mass of the bodies. By highlights and shading, it makes the forms exist in space, and this would be close to the intention

of the European source (which is unidentified). The Deccani artist, however, makes a rich pattern of the folds of the drapery, and shading is used not to increase our sense of the physical existence of the Madonna but to intensify the definition of lines in the flat pattern.

A fully painted version (fig. 44) of the Freer drawing is in the National Museum of India, New Delhi.







36 ADORATION OF THE CHRIST CHILD

Deccani, Golconda, mid-17th century  
15.3 × 10.7 cm. (6 1/16 × 4 1/4 in.)  
Ex-collection: Hanna  
07.267

An interesting, if minor, aspect of this *Adoration* is the borders. Unlike those made for Islamic manuscripts or albums that follow usual page proportions and place the central illustration or calligraphy closer to the spine than to the fore edge, here the margins are of equal width to the left and right—perhaps a Deccani adaptation of a European frame.

This remarkably lively illustration is probably by the same artist who made the portrait in the British Museum identified as Muhammad Qutb Shah (r. 1611–26) of Golconda;<sup>1</sup> it shares identical and distinctive figure types, decoratively flat, even patterned background, and curiously formalized clouds in a band at the top.

NOTES

1. Douglas Barrett, *Painting in the Deccan* (London, 1958), pl. 8.



## MAJOR IDENTIFIED IMPERIAL AKBAR-PERIOD MANUSCRIPTS

A great deal of important information can be gathered from an examination of the relationship of individual painters to each other and to manuscript projects. For that reason lists of painters are also included here. It is essential to know not just that a particular artist worked on a particular manuscript, but whether he was a designer or an assistant (i.e., painter) and with whom he worked (if he were an assistant, this would also indicate by whom he was—at least partially—trained); how his assignments changed (in quantity, subject, or style) compared with those immediately earlier or later or even within the same project; how much variety there was in the subjects he was given, etc. Even a cursory examination of these lists shows the predominance of Basawan, Daswanth, Lal, and Miskin as designers and the only modest overlap of assistants with whom each worked on any single manuscript; and this, of course, gives consistency over the entire period. But problems also appear: why, for example, did Basawan begin as the major designer of *Timur-nama* pages but then disappear completely from the last four-fifths of the project? Information of this nature, which can no longer be neglected, is as essential as purely stylistic and visual judgments.

The lists of artists' names have been compiled from several sources. I am particularly grateful to Ellen Smart for information on the attributions in the Tehran *Jami al-Tawarikh*, to Kumar Sangram Singh for his notes on the Jaipur *Razm-nama*, and to Norah M. Titley for her superb catalogue of the British Library and British Museum collections. Specific lists for three of the *Babar-namas* and the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nama*, which are in the process of full publication, are—for that reason—not included here. All this information must in any case be used cautiously, of course, for in the reading of inscriptions and the copying and recopying of such extensive lists, human error is all too frequent.

For those manuscripts in which several artists worked on an individual illustration, artists names are

listed according to assignments (e.g. as designers or painters). The names of collaborators are also given. For a designer, the collaborator will be a painter, the man who executed the work, and for a painter, the collaborator will be a designer, the man who made the outline.

### *Tuti-nama*

Circa 1560

The major portion of the manuscript, with 211 illustrations, is in the Cleveland Museum of Art; seven folios are in private collections, and six are missing. The full folio size is about 20.5 × 14.5 cm. Marginal inscriptions to the following painters have been found by Pramod Chandra (the number of assigned folios is indicated in parentheses): Banwari (2 fols.), Basawan (2 fols.), Daswanth (2 fols.), Ghulam Ali (1 fol.), Gujarati (4 fols.), Iqbal (1 fol.), Lalu (5 fols.), Sravana (1 fol.), Suraju (2 fols.), and Tara (2 fols.).

PUBLISHED: *Tuti-nama*; Pramod Chandra, *Tuti-nama*.

### *Hamza-nama*

Circa 1562–77

See cat. no. 5a–c

### *Tilasm and Zodiac*

Circa 1565

The work consists of sixteen folios, each about 45.9 × 33.2 cm., illustrated on both sides.

PUBLISHED: Karl Khandalavala and Jagdish Mittal, "An Early Akbari Manuscript of Tilasm and Zodiac," *Lalit Kala* 14: 8–20.

### *Deval Devi Khidr Khan of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi*

Dated 1567–68

National Museum of India, New Delhi

This illustrated manuscript, the earliest inscriptionally dated, contains two unsigned paintings. The 157 folios are about 32 × 21.3 cm. each. The scribe was Sultan Bayazid bin Mir Nizam.



## Anwar-i-Subaili

Dated 1570

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

The volume has 349 folios and 24 unsigned illustrations.

PUBLISHED: L. Ashton, ed., *The Arts of India and Pakistan* (New York, 1950), no. 636, pls. F and 119; J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Mughal Painting* (London, 1948), pl. 4; Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 80; and Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 19.

## Darab-nama

Circa 1580

British Library, London (Or. 4615)

It is usually assumed that the manuscript postdates the death of Daswanth in 1584 for no folios are inscribed with his name. Lal's name is also absent, however, and Basawan is given a single illustration. As well, the general style is still close to that of the 1570 *Anwar-i-Subaili*. The 157 paintings are divided among about 42 artists, whose names, together with the number of assigned folios, are as follows:

Abd as-Samad, made corrections on one folio by

Bihzad, his son

Banwari Kalan, 1 fol.

Basawan, 1 fol.

Bhagwan, 7 fols.

Bhini, 1 fol.

Bhura, 7 fols.

Bihzad, 1 fol.

Chaturbhuj, 5 fols., one of which is portraits only

Darkeh, 1 fol.

Dhannu, 5 fols.

Dharm Das, 4 fols.

Farrukh Chela, 2 fols.

Farrukh Khurd, 3 fols.

Ibrahim Kahar, 6 fols., one of which is portraits only

Iqbal, 1 fol.

Jagan, 3 fols.

Kalu Lahori, 4 fols.

Karm Chand, 1 fol.

Kesu Kahar, 3 fols.

Kesu Kalan, 1 fol.

Khem Karan, 1 fol.

Lalu, 1 fol.

Madhu Kalan, 1 fol., assisted by Chaturbhuj

Madhu Khurd, 5 fols.

Mahesh, 4 fols.

Mani, 3 fols.

Miskin, 1 fol.

Mithra, 7 fols.

Mukhlis, 7 fols.

Nanha, 12 fols.

Narayan, 4 fols.

Paras, 5 fols, one of which is with Sarwan

Paras Kahar, 2 fols.

Sanwlah, 6 fols.

Sarwan, 4 fols., one of which is with Paras

Shankar, 3 fols.

Shiv Das, 2 fols.

Surjan, 3 fols.

Tara, 1 fol.

Tarya, 3 fols.

Tulsi Kalan, 2 fols.

Tuluk, 1 fol.

PUBLISHED: *Titley Miniatures*, no. 18; *Welch IMP*, pl. 6; Beach, "The Mughal Painter Kesu Das," *Archives of Asian Art* 30 (1976-77): fig. 15.

## Gulistan of Sa'di

Dated 1581

Royal Asiatic Society, London

Aside from decorative illuminations, there is one illustration in the manuscript, showing its scribe, Muhammad Husain, Zarrin Qalam, together with the young painter Manohar.

PUBLISHED: Anthony Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World* (Austin, 1979), no. 76.

## Razm-nama

Circa 1582-86

According to Kumar Sangram Singh, formerly director of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur, where the manuscript is reportedly kept, the volume contains 176 illustrations and may have been presented to the Jaipur rulers by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II (r. 1759-1806), whose seal of ownership remains in the book. It can easily be seen that Basawan, Daswanth, and Lal executed the majority of designs and that following Daswanth's death, Basawan's relative contribution (unlike Lal's) increased markedly. The major assistant painter was Miskin, who was not yet assigned a role as designer.

The list below identifies artists by assignment, together with collaborators listed by folio number.

PUBLISHED: T. H. Hendley, *Memoirs of the Jeypore Exhibition 1883*, vol. 4 *The Razm-nama Ms.* (Jaipur, 1884); P. Banerjee, *The Life of Krishna in Indian Art* (New Delhi, 1979), fig. 185, 187, 223-25, 229, 232, 235, 243-44, 252-53, 256-63, 265-71.



## Designer-Painters

ABD AS-SAMAD  
Fol. 3  
BANWARI  
Fol. 168  
BHAGWAN  
Fol. 146  
FARRUKH CHELA  
Fol. 156  
JAGAN  
Fols. 47–48, 72, 106  
JAGJIVAN  
Fol. 33  
KESU  
Fols. 40, 113  
KESU DAS  
Fol. 147  
KHEM KARAN  
Fols. 27, 53, 107  
LAL  
Fol. 91  
MADHU  
Fol. 121  
MADHU KALAN  
Fols. 120, 157, 166  
MADHU KHURD  
Fols. 114, 151, 161  
MAHESH  
Fols. 36, 57, 109–10  
MAKAND  
Fols. 46, 67, 148, 150–51, 161  
RAM DAS  
Fol. 98  
TARA  
Fols. 37, 56  
THRIPAL  
Fols. 154, 163  
TULSI  
Fols. 45, 105, 162  
TULSI KALAN  
Fol. 167

## Designers

BASAWAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Anis, fol. 18  
Anis Chela, fol. 134  
Babu, fol. 29  
Bhawani, fol. 22  
Bhura, fols. 43, 71  
Brijthali, fol. 152  
Chatar, fol. 137  
Chaturbhuj, fols. 144–45  
Dhannu, fol. 12  
Ghulam Ali, fols. 9, 76–77  
Jagjivan, fols. 64, 99, 148  
Kanha, fols. 69, 95, 132, 138–39  
Khem Karan, fol. 165  
Madhu Khurd, fols. 90, 130  
Mani, fols. 123–24  
Miskin, fols. 30, 61, 141  
Paras, fols. 50, 153  
Tulsi, fol. 129  
DASWANTH  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Banwari, fol. 15  
Bhagwan, fols. 75, 125  
Bhura, fols. 16, 103  
Kanha, fol. 21  
Kesu, fol. 8  
Madhu Kalan, fol. 85  
Mahesh, fol. 79  
Miskin, fols. 41–42, 80, 87, 117  
Mukhlis, fol. 32  
Mukhlis; Madhu Khurd (portraitist),  
fol. 74  
Paras, fol. 73  
Ram Das, fols. 11, 49, 86  
Sarwan, fols. 65, 81–82  
Tara, fols. 84, 92  
Tara and Ram Das (painters)  
fols. 100–101  
Tulsi Kalan, fol. 59  
Tulsi Khurd, fols. 54–55  
JAGJIVAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Madhu Khurd, fol. 111  
KANHA  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Ghulam Ali, fols. 38–39  
Nanha, fols. 115–16  
Paras, fol. 114  
KESU DAS  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Chatar, fol. 70  
Miskin, fol. 158

## KESU KALAN

*Collaborators (painters)*

Miskin, fols. 159–60

## KHEM KARAN

*Collaborators (painters)*

Iqbal, fol. 28

## LAL

*Collaborators (painters)*

Anis, fol. 63

Banwari, fol. 62

Bhagwan, fols. 10, 83, 93, 97, 128,  
133, 155

Chaturbhuj, fols. 89, 127, 164

Jagan, fol. 143

Lalu, fol. 23

Khem Karan, fol. 78

Madhu Kalan, fols. 51, 96, 136

Madhu Khurd, fols. 6, 44, 66

Mahesh and Narayan, fol. 132

Makand, fols. 88, 104, 142

Mukhlis, fol. 7

Nanha, fol. 119

Paras, fols. 102, 126

Sanwlah, fol. 5

Sarwan, fol. 58

Shahzada Alamian, fol. 14

Shankar, fols. 20, 140

Surjan, fol. 31

Tulsi, fol. 52

Tulsi Khurd, fol. 108

## MAKAND

*Collaborators (painters)*

Banwari, fols. 34–35

Farrukh Chela, fol. 94

Madhu Kalan, fol. 24

Shankar, fol. 60

## MUHAMMAD SHARIF

*Collaborators (painters)*

Banwari, fol. 122

Kesu Khurd, fol. 118

Munir, fol. 68

## TARA

*Collaborators (painters)*

Tulsi Khurd, fol. 135

## TULSI

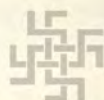
*Collaborators (painters)*

Mani, fol. 4

Narayan, fol. 19

Paras, fol. 13

Tulsi Khurd, fol. 16





## Painters

- ANIS**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 18  
Lal, fol. 63
- ANIS CHELA**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 134
- BABU**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 29
- BANWARI**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fol. 15  
Lal, fol. 62  
Makand, fols. 34–35  
Muhammad Sharif, fol. 122
- BHAGWAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fols. 75, 125, 128  
Lal, fols. 10, 83, 93, 97, 133, 155
- BHAWANI**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 22
- BHURA**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 43, 71  
Daswanth, fols. 16, 103
- BRIJTHALI**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 152
- CHATURBHUJ**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 144–45  
Lal, fols. 127, 164
- DHANNU**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 12
- FARRUKH CHELA**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Makand, fol. 94
- GHULAM ALI**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 9, 76–77  
Kanha, fols. 38–39
- IQBAL**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Khem Karan, fol. 28
- JAGAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 143
- JAGJIVAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 64, 99, 148
- KANHA**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Baswan, fols. 69, 95, 132, 138–39  
Daswanth, fol. 21
- KESU**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fol. 8
- KESU KHURD**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Muhammad Sharif, fol. 118
- KHEM KARAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 165  
Lal, fol. 78
- LALU**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 23
- MADHU KALAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fols. 85, 96  
Jagan, fols. 25–26  
Lal, fols. 51, 136  
Makand, fol. 24
- MADHU KHURD**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 90, 130  
Jagjivan, fol. 111  
Lal, fols. 6, 44, 66
- MAHESH**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fol. 79  
Lal and Narayan, fol. 132
- MAKAND**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fols. 88, 104, 142
- MANI**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 123–24  
Tulsi, fol. 4
- MISKIN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 30, 61, 141  
Daswanth, fols. 41–42, 80, 87, 117  
Kesu Das, fol. 158  
Kesu Kalan, fols. 159–60
- MUKHLIS**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fol. 32  
Daswanth; Madhu Khurd  
(portraitist), fol. 74  
Lal, fol. 7
- MUNIR**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Muhammad Sharif, fol. 68
- NANHA**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Kanha, fols. 115–16  
Lal, fol. 119
- NARAYAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal; Mahesh (painter), fol. 132  
Tulsi, fol. 19
- PARAS**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fols. 50, 153  
Daswanth, fol. 73  
Kanha, fol. 114  
Lal, fols. 102, 126  
Tulsi, fol. 13
- RAM DAS**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fols. 11, 49, 86  
Daswanth; Tara (painter), fols. 100–1
- SANWLAH**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 5
- SARWAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fols. 65, 81–82  
Lal, fol. 58
- SHAHZADA ALAMIAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 14
- SHANKAR**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fols. 20, 140  
Makand, fol. 60
- SURJAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 31
- TARA**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fols. 84, 92  
Daswanth; Ram Das (painter),  
fols. 100–101
- TULSI**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 129  
Lal, fol. 52
- TULSI KALAN**  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fol. 59





TUSLI KHURD  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fols. 54–55  
Lal, fol. 108  
Tara, fol. 135  
Tulsi, fol. 16

### *Portraitists*

MADHU KHURD  
*Collaborators*  
Daswanth (designer); Mukhlis  
(painter), fol. 74

### *Timur-nama*

Circa 1584  
Khuda Baksh Public Library, Bankipore  
The manuscript consists of 338 folios and 132 illustrations. Basawan and Lal were the major designers, but the work of both was concentrated at the beginning of the manuscript; Basawan executed no designs after folio 62r. From about folio 123r, the procedure changed and paintings were frequently assigned to artists working unassisted.

The list below identifies artists by assignment, together with collaborators listed by folio number.

### *Designer-Painters*

ANANT  
Fols. 182r, 206v  
BANWALI KALAN  
Fol. 148r  
BANWALI KHURD  
Fol. 144v  
BANWARI KHURD  
Fols. 248r, 333v  
BHAGWAN  
Fol. 186r  
BHIMJIV GUJARATI  
Fol. 166v  
BHURA  
Fol. 227v  
BIHZAD  
Fol. 159v  
CHATAR  
Fol. 129r  
DEVJI GUJARATI  
Fols. 143v, 328v

DHANNU  
Fols. 178v, 269r  
DHARM DAS  
Fols. 73r, 73v, 163v  
HAIDAR KASHMIRI  
*Collaborators (portraitists)*  
Nanha, fol. 165v  
JAGJIVAN  
Fol. 134r  
KAMAL KASHMIRI  
Fol. 146v  
KANKA SINGH  
Fol. 140v  
KESU KAHAR  
Fols. 104r, 132r, 147r, 149v  
KESU KHURD  
Fols. 193r, 253r, 323v, 337v  
KHEM  
Fol. 260v  
*Collaborators (portraitists)*  
Lal, fol. 284r  
KHEM KARAN  
Fols. 230r, 276r  
*Collaborators (portraitists)*  
Sanwlah, fol. 205v  
LOMRA  
Fol. 311r  
MADHU KALAN  
Fol. 103  
MISKIN  
Fol. 123v  
MUHAMMAD KASHMIRI  
Fol. 177r  
*Collaborators (portraitists)*  
Makand, fol. 252r  
NAND GWALIORI  
Fols. 196v, 226r  
*Collaborators (portraitists)*  
Manohar, fol. 232r  
NANHA  
Fols. 55v, 56r  
PARAS  
Fols. 90r, 170v, 241v, 277v,  
326v  
RAM DAS  
Fols. 154v, 194v, 273v  
SAHU  
Fol. 128v  
SHAH MUHAMMAD  
Fol. 5v  
SUR  
Fol. 126v



SURJIV  
Fol. 254r  
TARYA  
Fol. 78r  
TULSI KALAN  
Fol. 202v

## Designers

BASAWAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Ali, fol. 57v  
Bhagwan, fol. 4v  
Bhimjiv Gujarati, fol. 16v  
Bhura, fol. 54v  
Dhannu, fol. 53v  
Kahman Sangtarash, fol. 58v  
Nand Gwaliori, fol. 7v  
Nanha, fol. 30r  
Premjiv Gujarati, fol. 61v  
Shankar, fols. 17r, 18r  
Surjan, fol. 9r  
Tara, fol. 6v  
DASWANTH  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Jagjivan Kalan, fol. 2v  
FARRUKH CHELA  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Banwali Khurd, fol. 80r  
Narayan, fol. 108v  
Surjan, fol. 101r  
FARRUKH KALAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Suraj Gujarati, fol. 89v  
Surjan, fol. 99v

JAGAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Anant, fol. 115v  
Asi, fol. 131v  
Mukhlis, fol. 138v  
Nand Gwaliori, fol. 26v  
Surjan, fol. 59v

JAGANATH  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Chatarmuni, fol. 122r

KESU  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Banwali Kalan, fol. 69v  
Madhu Kalan, fol. 38r  
Surjan, fol. 46v

KESU KALAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Husain Naqqash, fol. 72r  
Sur Das, fol. 11v  
Surjan, fol. 49r

LAL  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Banwali Kalan, fols. 22v, 23r  
Dhannu, fol. 87r  
Lal, fol. 44v  
Mukhlis, fol. 66r  
Nama, fol. 65v  
Ram Das, fol. 60v  
Surjan, fol. 63v

MADHU KALAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Tulsi Kalan, fol. 3v

MADHU KHURD  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Bhagwan, fol. 37r  
Suraj Gujarati, fol. 121r  
Surjan, fols. 28r, 28v

MAKAND  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Banwali Kalan, fol. 51r  
Nama, fol. 45r

MISKIN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Bhura, fol. 110v  
Jagjivan, fols. 68r, 118v, 322r

SURJAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Basawan, fol. 8v

TULSI KALAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Banwali, fol. 20v  
Banwali Khurd, fol. 21r  
Narayan, fol. 32v  
Ram Das, fol. 20r  
Sarwan, fol. 136v

## Painters

ALI, SON OF MUKHLIS  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 57v

ANANT  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Jagan, fol. 115v

ASI  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Jagan, fol. 131v

BANWALI  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Tulsi Kalan, fol. 20v

BANWALI KALAN  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Kesu, fol. 69v  
Lal, fols. 22v, 23r  
Makand, fol. 51r

BANWALI KHURD  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Farrukh Chela, fol. 80r  
Tulsi Kalan, fol. 21r

BASAWAN  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Surjan, fol. 8v

BHAGWAN  
Fol. 19  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 4v  
Madhu Khurd, fol. 37r

BHIMJIV GUJARATI  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 16v

BHURA  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 54r  
Miskin, fol. 110v

BUNDI  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 44v

CHATARMUNI  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Jaganath, fol. 122r

DHANNU  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 53v  
Lal, fol. 87r

HUSAIN NAQQASH  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Kesu Kalan, fol. 72r

ISAR  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Tulsi Kalan, fol. 14r

JAGJIVAN  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Miskin, fols. 68r, 118v, 322r

JAGJIVAN KALAN  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Daswanth, fol. 2v

KAHMAN SANGTARASH  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 58v

MADHU KALAN  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Kesu, fol. 38r

MUKHLIS  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Jagan, fol. 138v  
Lal, fol. 66r





**NAMA***Collaborators (designers)*

Lal, fol. 65v

Makand, fol. 45r

**NAND GWALIORI***Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 7v

Jagan, fol. 26v

**NANHA***Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 30r

**NARAYAN***Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh Chela, fol. 108r

Tulsi Kalan, fol. 32v

**PREMJIV GUJARATI***Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 61v

**RAM DAS***Collaborators (designers)*

Lal, fol. 60v

Tulsi Kalan, fol. 20r

**SARWAN***Collaborators (designers)*

Tulsi Kalan, fol. 136v

**SHANKAR***Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fols. 17r, 18r

**SURAH**

Fol. 24v

**SURAJ GUJARATI***Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh Kalan, fol. 89v

Madhu Khurd, fol. 121r

**SUR DAS***Collaborators (designers)*

Kesu Kalan, fol. 11v

**SURJAN***Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 9v

Farrukh Chela, fol. 101r

Farrukh Kalan, fol. 99r

Jagan, fol. 59v

Kesu, fols. 46v, 49r

Lal, fol. 63v

Madhu Khurd, fols. 28r, 28v

**SURJIV GUJARATI***Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 62r

**TARA***Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 6v

**TULSI KALAN***Collaborators (designers)*

Isar, fol. 14r

Madhu Kalan, fol. 3v

*Portraitists***LAL***Collaborators*

Khem, fol. 284r

**MAKAND***Collaborators*

Muhammad Kashmiri, fol.

252r

**MANOHAR***Collaborators*

Nand Gwaliori, fol. 232r

**NANHA***Collaborators*

Haidar Kashmiri, fol. 165v

**SANWLAH***Collaborators*

Khem Karan, fol. 205v

*Ramayana*

Circa 1584–89

The manuscript, which is unpublished and inaccessible, is reputedly in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur. See also the discussion for catalogue number 15.

*Khamsa of Nizami*

Circa 1585

Keir Collection

The 356 folios of text (measuring 16.2 × 10.1 cm.) were copied in Iran, at Yazd, in the early sixteenth century, and the 41 illustrations were added in India.

The list below identifies artists by assignment, together with collaborators listed by folio number.

PUBLISHED: *Robinson, ed.*, *Keir*, nos. V. 7–41; *Sotheby*, July 7, 1973, lot 7.

*Designer-Painters***DHANNU**

Fol. 218b

**MAKAND**

Fols. 46a, 53a, 55b, 99a

**MIR TAQI**

Fol. 141a





MUHAMMAD SHARIF  
Fols. 73b, 157b  
NAMAN  
Fol. 302a  
NANHA  
Fol. 15a  
SHAH MUHAMMAD  
Fol. 184b  
TARA KALAN  
Fol. 130b

## Designers

BASAWAN  
Fol. 153a(?)  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Abdulla, fol. 177b  
Dharm Das, fol. 94b  
Manohar, fol. 195b  
DHANNU  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Bhura, fol. 214a  
FARRUKH BEG  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Bihzad, fol. 209a  
Bihzad (?), fol. 249b  
Dhanraj, fol. 203a  
Dharm Das, fols. 198b, 205a  
KESU KALAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Mani; Nanha (portraitist), fol. 186b  
LAL  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Ibrahim (?), fol. 245a  
Jagjivan, fol. 267a  
Madhu, fol. 60b  
Sanwlah, fols. 119a, 286b  
Sarwan, fol. 276b  
MAKAND  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Kesu Khurd, fol. 260b  
TARA  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Kesu Khurd, fol. 182b  
TULSI  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Kesu Khurd; Nanha (portraitist), fol. 227a

## Painters

ABDULLA  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 177b  
BHURA  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Dhannu, fol. 214a  
BIHZAD  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Farrukh Beg, fol. 209a  
Furrukh Beg (?), fol. 249b  
DHANRAJ  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Farrukh Beg, fol. 203a  
DHARM DAS  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 94b  
Farrukh Beg, fols. 198b, 205a  
IBRAHIM (?)  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 245a  
JAGJIVAN  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 267a  
KESU KHURD  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Makand, fol. 260b  
Tara, fol. 182b  
Tulsi; Nanha (portraitist), fol. 227a  
MADHU  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 60b  
MANI  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Kesu Kalan; Nanha (portraitist), fol. 186b  
MANOHAR  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Basawan, fol. 195b  
SANWLAH  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fols. 119a, 286b  
SARWAN  
*Collaborators (designers)*  
Lal, fol. 276b

## Portraitists

NANHA  
*Collaborators*  
Kesu Kalan (designer); Mani (painter), fol. 186b  
Tulsi (designer); Kesu Khurd (painter), fol. 227a



## Harivamsa

Circa 1585

See cat. no. 6

## Diwan of Hafiz

Circa 1588

Raza Library, Rampur

The volume consists of 203 folios, about 26.5 × 19 cm., with 11 illustrations and the following contemporary attributions: Farrukh Cheia, Kanha, Manohar, Nar Singh, and Sanwlah.

PUBLISHED: S. C. Welch, "Miniatures from a Manuscript of the Diwan of Hafiz," *Marg* 11, no. 3: 56–62

## Diwan of Anwari

Dated 1588

Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

For a partial publication of the fifteen miniatures and illuminations see *Welsh AMI*, no. 4A–D

## Babur-nama

Circa 1589

See cat. no. 7

## Akbar-nama

Circa 1590 or earlier

See cat. no. 9

## Iyar-i-Danish

Circa 1590–95

It has been suggested that the major portion of the manuscript, in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, belongs to the same work as pages in the Sir Cowasjee Jahangir Collection. There are 96 illustrations in the Beatty group, on folios 19.6 × 12.8 cm. The following artists are named in inscriptions: Anant, Asi, Banwari Kalan, Banwari Khurd, Bhim Gujarati, Bundi Kalan, Daulat, Dhannu, Dharm Das, Ibrahim, Kamali Chela, Kesu Gujarati, Kesu Khurd, Khem Khurd, Madhu Kalan, Makra, Mani, Nand, Nanha, Paras, Payag, Sanwlah, Shankar (Gujarati), Shiv Das, Shiv Raj Gujarati, Shyam, Surjan, Thirpal, and Tulsi.

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 1:12–21 and 3:pls. 38–47; Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *Miniatures and Sculptures from the Collection of the Late Sir Cowasjee Jahangir, Bart.* (Bombay, 1965), no. 7 and pl. C

## Babur-nama

Circa 1591

See page 77

Artists named in marginal inscriptions and the assigned folio numbers are as follows:

Abdullah, fol. 284r  
Banwari Kalan, fol. 253r  
Banwari Khurd, fols. 270, 306r  
Bhagwan, fols. 195r, 322r  
Bhawani, fols. 6v, 52r, 417v, 418r, 468v, 492r  
Bhim Gujarati, fols. 35v, 208v  
Dev Gujarati, fol. 386r  
Dhannu, fols. 173v, 386r, 389v, 393v  
Dhanraj, fols. 204v, 305v, 478r  
Farrukh Chela, fol. 13v  
Govind, fol. 197r  
Hafar Chela, fol. 256v  
Hirhan, fol. 22v  
Husain Naqqash, fol. 386v  
Ibrahim Kahar, fol. 405r  
Ibrahim Naqqash, fol. 407v  
Iqbal Naqqash, fol. 400r  
Jaganath, fols. 196v, 352r, 383v  
Jamshid Chela, fol. 257r  
Kesu Gujarati, fols. 384v, 406r, 406v  
Kesu Khurd, fol. 370v  
Khem Karan, fol. 505v  
Khusrau Quli, fol. 401r  
Lomka, fol. 395v  
Mahesh, fols. 180v, 453r  
Makra, fol. 379r  
Mani, fols. 399r, 399v  
Manohar, fol. 283v  
Mansur Naqqash, fols. 387r, 387v, 388r, 388v, 389r  
Mukhlis, fol. 285r  
Nama, fols. 70r, 80r  
Nand Gwaliori, fols. 23v, 522r  
Narayan, fol. 385v  
Nar Singh, fol. 163r  
Padarath, fols. 380v, 402r, 459r  
Paras, fols. 54r, 194v, 299r, 348v  
Payag, fol. 334v  
Ram Das, fols. 181v, 273v, 381r, 381v, 520r  
Sanwlah, fol. 133r  
Sarwan, fols. 380r, 394r, 394v, 400v  
Shankar, fols. 252v, 404v  
Shankar Gujarati, fols. 279v, 314r, 391r, 391v, 392r, 392v, 395r, 403r, 404r  
Shiv Das, fols. 83v, 351v  
Shyam, fols. 190r, 382r, 382v, 397r  
Surad, fol. 44r  
Sur Gujarati, fols. 295r, 390r, 390v  
Surjan, fols. 396r, 396v  
Taluk, fol. 129v  
Tarya, fol. 94v (outlined by Tulsi), 260v, 274r



Thripal, fols. 7r, 271r  
Tulsi, fol. 94v (assisted by Tarya)  
Tulsi Kalan, fol. 491v  
Tulsi Khurd, fols. 398r, 398v  
REFERENCE: *Titley Miniatures*, no. 268.

## *Tarikh-i-Alfi*

Circa 1592–94  
See cat. no. 10a–d

## *Babur-nama*

Circa 1593  
See page 77

## *Baharistan of Jami*

Dated 1595  
Bodleian Library, Oxford  
The volume contains six illustrations and rich marginal decoration, signed with the following names: Ahmed, Babu, Balchand, Basawan, Bhagwan, Husaini, Ikhlas, Kesu Kalan, Khem, Khizr, Lal, Madhu, Makand, Mansur, Miskin, Mukhlis, Shiv Das, Suleiman, and Sur Das.

PUBLISHED: Welch IMP, pl. 8; Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought*, figs. 27–28; Barrett and Gray, *Paintings of India*, p. 88; *Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Periods*, Bodleian Picture Book, no. 9 (Oxford, 1953), figs. 8–12.

## *Khamsa of Nizami*

Dated 1595  
The greater portion of the manuscript is in the British Library (Or. 12208) and contains thirty-seven illustrations. Thirty-nine folios (33.8 × 20.8 cm.) with five paintings are in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. The scribe was Abd al-Rahim, Ambarin Qalam.  
Artists named in marginal inscriptions and the number of assigned folio numbers are as follows:

Abd as-Samad, 1 fol.  
Bhim Gujarati, 2 fols.  
Bhura, 1 fol.  
Daulat, 1 fol.  
Dhanraj, 1 fol., with Farrukh Chela  
Dharm Das, 6 fols.  
Farrukh Chela, 3 fols., one of which is with Dhanraj  
Jaganath, 1 fol.  
Kanka Singh Chela, 1 fol.  
Khem Karan, 1 fol.  
Lal, 2 fols.  
Madhu, 2 fols.  
Madhu Chela, 1 fol.

Makand, 4 fols.  
Manohar, 3 fols.  
Miskin, 1 fol.  
Nand Gwaliori, 1 fol.  
Nanha, 4 fols.  
Nar Singh, 1 fol.  
Sanwlah, 4 fols.  
Shiv Das, 1 fol.  
Sur Gujarati, 2 fols.

PUBLISHED: S. C. Welch, "The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizami," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 23 (1960): 86–96; Martin, *Miniature Paintings*, pls. 178–81.

## *Akhlat-i-Nasiri* of Nasir-ud-din Tusi

Circa 1595  
PUBLISHED: *Sotbeby*, November 27, 1974, lot 684.

## *Diwan* of Amir Shahi

Circa 1595  
One page is signed by Kesu Das, and others have been attributed to Basawan and Miskin.  
PUBLISHED: Welch AMI, no. 5A–B; *Colnaghi* 1979, no. 14.

## *Jami al-Tawarikh*

Dated 1596  
See cat. no. 11  
The list below identifies artists by assignment, together with collaborators listed by folio numbers for the portion of the manuscript in Tehran.

## *Designer-Painters*

BAHIN  
Fol. 164v  
BIHZAD  
Fol. 67v  
DHANNU  
Fol. 288v  
KHEM KARAN  
Fols. 222v, 227v, 269r  
MAKAND  
Fol. 273r  
MISKIN  
Fol. 255r





RAM DAS  
*Collaborators*  
Bundi Khurdu (portraits),  
fol. 196v

TRIPAL  
Fol. 269r

TULSI  
Fol. 90r

## Designers

BASAWAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Bhim Gujarati, fols. 73v,  
303r  
Bhim Gujarati; Manohar  
(portraitist), fol. 9r  
Bhura; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 68v  
Bihzad, fol. 213v  
Bundi; Dharm Das  
(portraitist), fol. 278r  
Dhannu, fol. 263v  
Kamali, fol. 257v  
Madhu, fol. 174v  
Mir Taqi, fol. 253r  
Miskin, fol. 183v  
Nand Gwaliori, fol. 60v  
Paras, fol. 172r  
Sur Das Gujarati; Madhu  
(portraitist), fols. 2v, 3v  
Sur Das Gujarati (?);  
Basawan (portraitist), fol.  
420

DHARM DAS  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Bundi, fol. 185r  
Kesu Khurd, fol. 182v  
Madhu, fol. 108r  
Shyam, fol. 103v

FARRUKH  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Adbulla Kashmiri; Anant  
(portraitist), fol. 144r  
Bundi; Bhim Gujarati  
(portraitist), fol. 104r  
Haidar Kashmiri; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 161v  
Khem, fol. 230r  
Mani; Nanha (portraitist), fol.  
54v  
Muhammad Kashmiri;  
Makand (portraitist), fol.  
147r  
Ram Das, fol. 241r

KESU KALAN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Chatarmuni; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 72r  
Govind; Mahesh (portraitist),  
fol. 89v

LAL  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Adbulla Kashmiri, fol. 135v  
Bhagwan, fol. 176v  
Bhagwan; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 111v  
Bhura; Hiranand (portraitist),  
fol. 193v  
Daud, fol. 154r  
Daud Kashmiri; Madhu  
(portraitist), fol. 192v  
Dhannu, fol. 57v  
Haidar Kashmiri; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 132v  
Jagjivan Kalan; Madhu  
(portraitist), fol. 75r  
Jamshid; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 296r  
Kesu Khurd; Dharm Das  
(portraitist), fol. 415r  
Khem; Lal (portraitist), fol.  
48v  
Mahesh; Lal (portraitist), fol.  
88v  
Muhammad Ali; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 153r  
Muhammad Kashmiri; Kamal  
Chela (portraitist), fol.  
122r

Nand Gwaliori, fol. 98r  
Ram Das; Tara (portraitist),  
fol. 82v  
Surjiv Gujarati, fol. 107v  
Tripal; Sanwlah (portraitist),  
fol. 87r

MADHU  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Ram Das; Madhu  
(portraitist), fol. 314v

MAHESH  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Anant; Nanha (portraitist),  
fol. 112r

MAKAND  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Banwari Khurd; Madhu  
(portraitist), fol. 133v  
Husain Chela; Makand  
(portraitist), fol. 199r

Makra; Sanwlah (portraitist),  
fol. 100v  
Tara; Makand (portraitist),  
fol. 257v

MANOHAR  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Khem, fol. 259v

MISKIN  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Anant, fol. 63r  
Asi, fols. 181v, 261v  
Asi; Dharm Das (portraitist),  
fol. 237v  
Asi; Makand (portraitist), fol.  
113v  
Bahin; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 134v  
Dhannu, fol. 266r  
Dhanraj, fol. 70r  
Dhanraj; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 301r  
Jagjivan, fols. 30r, 425r  
Kesu Khurd; Madhu  
(portraitist), fol. 166v  
Lohang, fol. 289v  
Muhammad Ali; Madhu  
(portraitist), fol. 152v  
Padarath, fol. 284r  
Paras; Dharm Das  
(portraitist), fol. 96v  
Ram Das, fol. 62r  
Sarwan, fols. 243r, 248r  
Sarwan; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 251v

NANHA  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Mansur; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 70r

SANWLAH  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Bahin, fol. 268r  
Haidar Kashmiri; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 140r  
Jaganath; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 157v  
Kesu Kalan; Chatarmuni  
(portraitist), fol. 77r  
Lal; Thripal (portraitist), fol.  
87r  
Muhammad Ali; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 128r

TULSI  
*Collaborators (painters)*  
Jagjivan Kalan, fol. 171v  
Shankar; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 195r



## Painters

**ABDULLA KASHMIRI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh; Anant (portraitist),  
fol. 144r

Lal, fol. 135v

**ANANT**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Mahesh; Nanha (portraitist),  
fol. 112r

Miskin, fol. 63r

**ASI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Miskin, fols. 181v, 271v

Miskin; Dharm Das  
(portraitist), fol. 237v

Miskin; Makand (portraitist),  
fol. 113v

**BAHIN**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Miskin; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 134v

Sanwlah, fol. 268r

**BANWARI KHURD**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Makand; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 133v

**BHAGWAN**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal, fol. 176v

Lal; Madhu (portraitist), fol.  
111v

**BHIM GUJARATI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fols. 73v, 303r

Basawan; Manohar  
(portraitist), fol. 9r

**BHURA**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 68v

Lal; Hiranand (portraitist),  
fol. 193v

**BIHZAD**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 213v

**BUNDI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan; Dharm Das  
(portraitist), fol. 278r

Dharm Das, fol. 185r

Farrukh; Bhim Gujarati  
(portraitist), fol. 104r

**CHATARMUNI**

*Collaborator (designers)*

Kesu Kalan; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 77r

**DAUD**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal, fol. 154r

**DAUD KASHMIRI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal; Madhu (portraitist), fol.  
192v

**DHANNU**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 263v

Lal, fol. 57v

Miskin, fol. 266r

**DHANRAJ**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Miskin, fol. 70r

Miskin; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 301r

**GOVIND**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Kesu Kalan; Mahesh  
(portraitist), fol. 89v

**HAIDAR KASHMIRI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh; Sanwlah (portraitist),  
fol. 161v

Lal; Sanwlah (portraitist), fol.  
132v

Sanwlah, fol. 140r

**HUSAIN CHELA**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Makand; Makand (portraitist),  
fol. 199r

**JAGANATH**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Sanwlah; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 157v

**JAGJIVAN**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Miskin, fols. 30r, 425r

**JAGJIVAN KALAN**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal; Madhu (portraitist), fol.  
75r

Tulsi, fol. 171v

**JAMSHID**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal; Madhu (portraitist), fol.  
296r

**KAMALI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 257v

**KESU KHURD**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Dharm Das; Miskin

(portraitist), fol. 182v

Lal; Dharm Das (portraitist),  
fol. 415r

Miskin; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 166v

**KHEM**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh, fol. 230r

Lal, fol. 48v

Manohar, fol. 259v

**LOHANG**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Miskin, fol. 289v

**MADHU**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 174v

Dharm Das, fol. 108r

**MAHESH**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal, fol. 88v

**MAKRA**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Makand; Sanwlah  
(portraitist), fol. 100v

**MANI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh; Nanha (portraitist),  
fol. 54v

**MANSUR**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Nanha; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 70r

**MIR TAQI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 253r

**MISKIN**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 183v

**MUHAMMAD ALI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal; Sanwlah (portraitist), fol.  
153r

Miskin; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 152v

Sanwlah, fol. 128r

**MUHAMMAD KASHMIRI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh; Makand (portraitist),  
fol. 147r

Lal; Kamal Chela (portraitist),  
fol. 122r



**NAND GWALIORI**  
*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 60v

Lal, fol. 98r

**PADARATH**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Miskin, fol. 284r

**PARAS**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan, fol. 172r

Miskin; Dharm Das

(portraitist), fol. 96v

**RAM DAS**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Farrukh, fol. 241r

Lal; Tara (portraitist), fol. 82v

Madhu, fol. 314v

Miskin, fol. 62r

**SARWAN**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Miskin; Madhu (portraitist),  
fol. 251v

Miskin, fols. 243r, 248r

**SHANKAR**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Tulsi; Madhu (portraitist), fol.  
195r

**SHYAM**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Dharm Das, fol. 103v

**SUR DAS GUJARATI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Basawan; Madhu (portraitist),  
fols. 2v, 3r

Basawan; Basawan (portraitist),  
fol. 420 (?)

**SURJIV GUJARATI**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal, fol. 107v

**TARA**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal; Ram Das (portraitist),  
fol. 82v

Makand, fol. 257v

**THRIPAL**

*Collaborators (designers)*

Lal; Sanwlah (portraitist), fol.  
87r

## *Portraitists*

**ANANT**

*Collaborators*

Farrukh (designer); Abdulla

Kashmiri (painter), fol.

144r

**BASAWAN**

*Collaborators*

Sur Das Gujarati, fol. 420

(?)

**BHIM GUJARATI**

*Collaborators*

Farrukh (designer); Bundi

(painter), fol. 104r

**BUNDI KHURD**

*Collaborators*

Ram Das, fol. 196v

**DHARM DAS**

*Collaborators*

Basawan (designer); Bundi

(painter), fol. 278r

Dharm Das (designer); Bundi

(painter), fol. 185r

Lal (designer); Kesu Khurd

(painter), fol. 415r

Dharm Das (designer);

Madhu (painter), fol. 108r

Miskin (designer); Asi

(painter), fol. 237v

Dharm Das (designer);

Shyam (painter), fol. 103v

**HIRANAND**

*Collaborators*

Lal (designer); Bhura

(painter), fol. 193v

**KAMAL CHELA**

*Collaborators*

Lal (designer); Muhammad

Kashmiri (painter), fol.

122r

**LAL**

*Collaborators*

Lal (designer); Dhannu

(painter), fol. 57v

Lal (designer); Khem

(painter), fol. 48v

Lal (designer); Mahesh

(painter), fol. 88v

**MADHU**

*Collaborators*

Basawan (designer); Bhura

(painter), fol. 68v

Basawan (designer); Sur Das

Gujarati (painter), fols. 2v,

3r

Lal (designer); Bhagwan

(painter), fol. 111v

Lal (designer); Daud

Kashmiri (painter), fol.

192v

Lal (designer); Jagjivan Kalan

(painter), fol. 75r

Lal (designer); Jamshid

(painter), fol. 296r

Madhu (designer); Ram Das

(painter), fol. 314v

Makand (designer); Banwari

Khurd (painter), fol. 133v

Miskin (designer); Bahin

(painter), fol. 134v

Miskin (designer); Dhanraj

(painter), fol. 301r

Miskin (designer); Kesu

Khurd (painter), fol. 166v

Miskin (designer);

Muhammad Ali (painter),

fol. 152v

Miskin (designer); Sarwan

(painter), fol. 251v

Nanha (designer); Mansur

(painter), fol. 70r

Sanwlah (designer); Jaganath

(painter), fol. 157v

Tulsi (designer); Shankar

(painter), fol. 195r

**MAHESH**

*Collaborators*

Kesu Kalan (designer);

Govind (painter), fol. 89v

**MAKAND**

*Collaborators*

Farrukh (designer);

Muhammad Kashmiri

(painter), fol. 147r

Madhu (designer); Husain

Chela (painter), fol. 199r

Miskin (designer); As

(painter), fol. 113v

Tara, fol. 257v

**MANOHAR**

*Collaborators*

Basawan (designer); Bhim

Gujarati (painter), fol. 9r

**MISKIN**

*Collaborators*

Dharm Das (designer); Kesu

Khurd (painter), fol. 182v

**NANHA**

*Collaborators*

Farrukh (designer); Mani

(painter), fol. 54v



Mahesh (designer); Anant  
(painter), fol. 112r

### SANWLAH

#### *Collaborators*

Farrukh (designer); Haidar  
Kashmiri (painter), fol.  
161v

Lal (designer); Haidar  
Kashmiri (painter), fol.  
132v

Lal (designer); Muhammad  
Ali (painter), fol. 153r

Makand (designer); Makra  
(painter), fol. 100v

Sanwlah (designer);  
Muhammad Ali (painter),  
fol. 128r

Sanwlah (designer); Haidar  
Kashmiri (painter), fol.  
140r

## Anwar-i-Suhaili

Dated 1596

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares

The twenty-seven illustrations include inscriptions to Anant, Basawan, Bishan Das, Dharm Das, Farrukh Chela, Jaganath, Lachman, Mahesh, Makand, Manohar, Miskin, Sanwlah, and Shankar.

PUBLISHED: *Welch AMI*, no. 10.

## Khamsa of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

Dated 1597–98

Twenty-one illustrations, 211 folios (28.7 × 19.5 cm.), and the original lacquer covers of the manuscript are in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, while several further illustrations are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The scribe was Muhammad Husayn, Zarrin Qalam, and illuminations are signed by Husain Naqqash, Khwaja Jan Shirazi, Lutf Allah Mudhathib, and Mansur Naqqash. Marginal inscriptions name the following artists: Ali Quli, Basawan, Dharm Das, Farrukh, Jaganath, Lal, Madhu, Manohar, Miskin, Nar Singh, and Sanwlah.

PUBLISHED: *Ettinghausen*, pl. 6; *Welch AMI*, no. 7; Ernst Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting* (1968), nos. 91–94.

## Babur-nama

Dated 1597–98

See page 77

## Gulistan of Sa'di

Circa 1600

The text (in the British Library, London, Or. 5302) was copied in 1567, probably at Bukhara, but six of the thirteen illustrations are attributable to Mughal artists and date to about 1600. Eight paintings, almost certainly from this manuscript, are in the Cincinnati Art Museum and are inscribed to: Bhim Gujarati, Dharm Das, Farrukh Chela, Lal, Makand, Manohar, Nar Singh, and Sur Das Gujarati. Further possible dispersed folios are in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (inscribed to Basawan) and a private collection (attributed to Miskin).

PUBLISHED: I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne à l'Époque des Grands Moghols* (Paris, 1929), pl. XX; *Oriental Art* 16, no. 4 (1970): 339; *Colnaghi* 1978, no. 9; *Titley Miniatures*, no. 348

## Yog Vashisht

Dated 1602

Only one of the forty-one illustrations bears a legible contemporary attribution (to Haribas).

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

PUBLISHED: *Beatty Library*, 1: 21–25 and 3: pls. 48–49; Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 94.

## Nafahat al-uns of Jami

Dated 1603

British Library, London (Or. 1362)

Six artists' names appear among the seventeen illustrations: Balchand, Daulat, Hiranand, Khem Karan, Madhu, and Nar Singh.

PUBLISHED: Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 97; Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought*, fig. 35.

## Akbar-nama

Dated 1604

See cat. nos. 12a–g

Contemporary attributions and the number of assigned folios are listed separately for the two major manuscript sections.

Artist	British Library	Beatty Library
Ahmad		3 fols.
Balchand		1 fol. (as portraitist)
Daulat		2 fols.
Dhanraj		1 fol.
Dharm Das	6 fols.	4 fols.
Farrukh (Chela)	2 fols.	
Govardhan	1 fol.	4 fols.
Hiranand	1 fol.	





<i>Artist</i>	<i>British Library</i>	<i>Beatty Library</i>
Inayat	1 fol. (designed by Nanha)	2 fols.
Karim Das	1 fol. (assisted by Sur Das)	
Kanak Singh	1 fol.	
Khem Karan	3 fols.	3 fols.
Lal	4 fols.	9 fols.
Madhu	2 fols. (of which one as portraitist)	1 fol.
Makand	1 fol.	3 fols. (of which one as portraitist)
Manohar	1 fol.	4 fols. (of which one as portraitist)
Mansur	4 fols.	
Mir Taqi		2 fols.
Miskin	2 fols.	
Nanha	1 fol. (assisted by Inayat)	
Nar Singh	5 fols. (as portraitist)	1 fol.
Padarath		1 fols.
Sanwlah	4 fols. (of which one designed by Sur Das)	2 fols.
Shankar	1 fol.	3 fols.
Sur Das	4 fols. (of which one assisted by Sanwlah)	9 fols.

## *Kulliyat of Sa'di*

Circa 1604

Private collection

## *Bustan of Sa'di*

Circa 1605

One illustration is signed by Daulat, while others can be attributed to Abu'l Hasan, Govardhan, Mirza Ghulam, and Sur Das Gujarati, among others.

PUBLISHED: *Welch AMI*, no. 24; I. Stchoukine, "Un Bustan de Sa'di Illustré par des Artistes Moghols," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1937): 68–74.



# Key to Abbreviated References

<i>A'in</i>	Abu'l Fazl Allami. <i>A'in-i-Akbari</i> . Translated by H. Blochmann. 3 vols. Calcutta, 1938-39.	<i>Christie</i>	Sale catalogues issued by Christie, Manson and Woods, Ltd., London, by sale date.
<i>Akbar-nama</i>	Abu'l Fazl Allami. <i>Akbar-nama</i> . Translated by H. Beveridge. 3 vols. Reprint. Delhi, 1972-73.	<i>Colnaghi 1976</i>	Colnaghi, P. & D., & Co., Ltd. <i>Persian and Mughal Art</i> . London, 1976.
<i>Atil Brush</i>	Atil, Esin. <i>The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India</i> . Washington, D.C., 1978.	<i>Colnaghi 1978</i>	Colnaghi, P. & D., & Co., Ltd. <i>Indian Painting</i> . London, 1978.
<i>Babur-nama</i>	Zahir'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi. <i>Babur-nama</i> . Translated by A. Beveridge. London, 1922.	<i>Colnaghi 1979</i>	Colnaghi, P. & D., & Co., Ltd. <i>Paintings from Mughal India</i> . London, 1979.
<i>Badaoni</i>	'Abdu-l-Qadir ibn-i-Muluk Shah, al Badaoni. <i>Muntakhabut-t-Tawarikh</i> . Translated by W. Haig. 3 vols. Reprint. Patna, 1973.	<i>Ettinghausen</i>	Ettinghausen, Richard. <i>Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections</i> . New Delhi, 1961.
<i>Beach GM</i>	Beach, Milo Cleveland. <i>The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India: 1600-1660</i> . Williamstown, Mass., 1978.	<i>Heeramanek</i>	Beach, Milo Cleveland. "Painting and the Minor Arts." In <i>The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection</i> , pp. 97-167. Boston, 1966.
<i>Beatty Library</i>	Arnold, Thomas W., and Wilkinson, J. V. S. <i>The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures</i> . 3 vols. London, 1936.	<i>Maathir-ul-Umara</i>	Khan, S. N. <i>Maathir-ul-Umara</i> . Translated by H. Beveridge. 3 vols. Calcutta, 1911-14.
<i>Binney Collection</i>	Binney, Edwin, 3rd. <i>Indian Miniature Paintings from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd: The Mughal and Deccani Schools</i> . Portland, Oreg., 1973.	<i>Marek and Knizkova</i>	Marek, J., and Knizkova, H. <i>The Jenghiz Khan Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great</i> . London, 1963.
<i>BM 1976</i>	Pinder-Wilson, R. H.; Smart, Ellen; and Barrett, Douglas. <i>Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India</i> . London, 1976.	<i>Robinson, ed., Keir</i>	Robinson, B. W.; Grube, E.; Meredith-Owens, G. M.; and Skelton, R. W. <i>Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book</i> . Edited by B. W. Robinson. London, 1976.





- Sotheby* Sale catalogues issued by Sotheby Parke-Bernet and Co., London, by sale date.
- Suleiman* Suleiman, Hamid. *Miniatures of Babur-nama*. In Russian. Tashkent, 1970.
- Titley Miniatures* Titley, Norah M. *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts*. London, 1977.
- Tuzuk* Jahangir. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; or Memoirs of Jahangir*. Translated by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge. 2 vols. Reprint. London, 1968.
- Welch AMI* Welch, Stuart C. *The Art of Mughal India*. New York, 1963.
- Welch FEM* Welch, Stuart C. *A Flower from Every Meadow*. New York, 1973.
- Welch IMP* Welch, Stuart C. *Imperial Mughal Painting*. New York, 1977.



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# Index

The index includes the names of artists, manuscripts, and albums mentioned in the text. Page references to illustrations are printed in *italics*.

Names of painters given here are often subject to several possible readings. We are not sure if Banwali and Banwari are separate personalities, for example, while Kanak Singh can be alternately transliterated Ganga Sen. The use of suffixes, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, create another problem, illustrated best by the painters named Kesu. The name appears alone, as well as in the following forms: Kesu Das, Kesu Kalan ("Kesu the Elder"), Kesu Khurd ("Kesu the Younger"), Kesu Gujarati ("Kesu of Gujarat"), and Kesu Kahan (a caste designation). It is for further scholarship to determine how many separate painters are involved: it could be between two and six. The suffixes naqqash ("the artist") and chela ("the pupil or disciple"), however, are not exclusive: Farrukh and Farrukh Chela are the same man.

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